

OTHER MEN'S
BRAINS.

or
Cocked Hats
at



Bedford

AND

St.
Albans





OTHER MEN'S BRAINS;

OR,

COCKED HATS

AT

BEDFORD AND ST. ALBANS.

BY

MAJOR GEORGE LAMBERT, F.S.A.

Past "Preses" of the Cocked Hat Club.

London. - IV. Cocked Hat Club

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TO HIS OLD AND VALUED FRIEND

ALFRED WHITE, ESQ., F.S.A., F.L.S., F.N.S.,

OF WEST DRAYTON,

THIS PAMPHLET IS MOST

RESPECTFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED.

10, 11 & 12, *Coventry Street*,

London, W.

P R E F A C E .

This Pamphlet is called

“OTHER MEN’S BRAINS,”

because the compiler has had to avail himself of the History of Bedford by D. G. Cary Elwes, Esq., F.S.A., Murray’s “Hand Book,” Patterson’s “Roads,” “British Encyclopedia,” “Penny Cyclopedia,” Dr. Zachary Grey’s “Hudibras, 1767,” Birch’s “Heads,” “Historical MSS.,” *The Times* and *The Globe* Newspapers. To the two latter he has to return his best thanks for permission to embody their Articles in this Paper.

GEORGE LAMBERT, MAJOR.

10, 11, 12, COVENTRY STREET.



COCKED HATS AT BEDFORD,

SATURDAY, 14th JULY, 1883.



ON Saturday Morning, July 14th, 1883, some of the members of the Cocked Hat Club, Mr. President Clerk, Mr. Alfred White (Treasurer), Col. Heales, Dr. Dimond, Messrs. Barron, Brabrook, Neville, Gardiner, Wadmore, (a visitor, late Master of

the Skinners' Company), Mr. Alfred Chantler (a visitor of Mr. A. White), and Capt. George Lambert, left London by the Midland Railway for Bedford, and arriving safely walked to the Swan Hotel (for by some mistake the break had been sent to the North Western Railway Station instead of the Great Northern), where the Midland train stops. Rooms having been arranged for, they started off by train to Wellingborough, where a break met them and took them to the Hind Inn, where they had lunch.

The Cocked Hats found themselves in Northamptonshire, of which Thomas Smith, in his "Angli de Republica Anglorum," printed at Lugdunum Batavorum,* by the Elzeviriani CIO IO C XXX. says:—

"Provincia hæc ad Septentrionem à Lincoln VVellando

* Leyden in Holland.

Fluvio; ad ortum Ausona (vulgo Nen) ab Huntingdon separatur; ad austrum a Buckinghamia et Oxoniensi; ad Occidentem à VVarvvicensi agro clauditur. Longitudo ejus xlv. milliarium: Latitudo xx. mill. pass. Ambitus cxx. milliarium. Dividitur in centur. xxi; in quibus oppida mercatoria x. Ecclesiæ cccxxvi." He goes on to say:—"VVellingborovv forum non insequens."

WELLINGBOROUGH.

Wellingborough takes its name from the wells or springs about the town; one of which, the Red Well, "a Chalybeate," was formerly in high repute. There is a story current that Charles I. and Henrietta came to this town to drink waters of this Red Well, about half-a-mile north west of the town, and Archbishop Laud in his journal says that, in 1626, he waited on Queen Henrietta at the White Swan Inn, now pulled down. Which inn it was, White Swan or Hind, it matters but little, but, at either one or the other, Horace Walpole was exceedingly displeased, for he writes in 1763:—"We lay at Wellingborough—pray never lie there—the beastliest inn upon earth is there. We were carried into a vast bed-chamber, which I suppose is the club-room, for it stunk of tobacco, like a Justice of the Peace. I desired hot water for tea, and they brought me a sugar dish of hot water on a pewter plate." Anyhow, as far as the lunch was concerned for the Cocked Hats, the landlord had done his very best. The other noted spring is the White-church Well at the western extremity of the town. After lunch, we visited some old buildings, houses, and staircases of the time of James I., 1603-1625, at the back of the hotel, and belonging to the proprietor.

Wellingborough is a large market town without very much to interest a Cocked Hat. The name in Domesday occurs as Wendlesberie and Wedlingsberie, and, in old writings, Wendlyngburg. For a long period before the time of William the Conqueror, 1066, it was an appanage of the Abbey of Crowland, having been given to the monks by Ædred King of the Mercians, A.D. 948, and remained such until the dissolution of the monasteries, 15 $\frac{3}{4}$, in the reign

of Henry VIII. The Parish Church of St. Luke is of the Decorated period with some Perpendicular alterations. The tower and spire are late Early-English of oolite and local ironstone; the body of the church is built of ironstone, the four bays of the nave are of the Decorated period, the four bays of the chancel are Perpendicular and the windows of the same style, the great east window is Decorated.

By an arbitration in the seventh year of King Richard II., 138 $\frac{1}{2}$, it was ordered that the Abbot and Monastery of Crowland should repair the chancel at their own costs, and hence the Perpendicular rebuilding, but the stone brackets for carrying the original roof of the chancel yet remain; some old screen work divides the choir aisles from the chancel. The walls of the nave are quite rough—devoid of plaster. There is a small Perpendicular chapel, to the east of the south door, with a panelled ceiling carved with the emblems of “The Passion.” Over the south door is a monument to the memory of one Lingar, who was in the service of Queen Elizabeth as Sergeant of the Bakehouse; he died 1570.

The Cocked Hats did not see the Communion Plate, which was given to the Church in 1634 by Sir Paul Pindar, who was born in this Town of Wellingborough, Sir Paul was a wealthy merchant of Bishopsgate, London, and Consul and Ambassador to Turkey. He contributed largely to the restoration and beautifying of Old St. Paul’s, which had been nearly destroyed by fire in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the Spire, which was built of wood and covered with lead, was burned, by a flash of lightning in 1561; the fire burnt for hours, ran along the roof of the Cathedral which fell in, filling the whole Church with a mass of ruins. The timber part of the spire was 264 feet high, the roof was 720 feet long and 130 feet broad.*

Near to the Church is the Free School, founded by Edward VI. On the suppression of the Guild of the Virgin. Edward Pickering Esquire of Swasey in Cambridgeshire, gave £130 towards the School, as recorded on a tablet over the door. On a tablet below are the words “*φιλομαθεσι multum*

* Vol. II. Peter Conningham’s Handbook to London, p. 627.

debeo 1619," *Barbaris autem nihil*.^{*} In 1687 a schoolmaster was elected who professed himself a dissenter and obtained a dispensation from King James II. to hold the School without qualifying according to law. He disappeared after the flight of the King and was ultimately discovered at the College of St. Omer in France, of which he was a member and a Jesuit.

IRTHLINGBORO.

Then off in the break to Irthlingboro where we stopped at the base of an old Highway Cross about thirteen feet high. which "Brydges" saith, "was used for a standard for the pole to measure out the parts or 'doles' in the meadows*." This Manor belonged to Peterboro until the dissolution of the Monasteries. There were formerly two Churches, All Saints', of which, only the foundation can be traced, in an adjoining meadow, and St. Peter's, the existing Church, which was collegiate, and founded in 1371 by one John Pyel, Citizen Mercer, who had the honour of being Mayor of London in 1373, temp. Edward III.; he bought the Manor from Sir Simon Drayton, and dying before the College was reared, it was completed by his Widow Joan in 1388, temp. Richard II.; the building is both Early-English and Decorative.

Pyel and his Wife filled the chancel with stalls, but their great work is the campanile or tower, which is detached from the main body of the Church; Pyel's Arms are (carved) in stone, above the first window over the west door, "a bend between two mullets." It is in two stages, the base is square, the upper octagon, there are three subterranean chambers traditionally called Old Marlom's parlour, they are vaulted and on one of the keystones is the Arms of Pyel.

In the South Choir Aisle is a monument to John Pyel and his Wife. Another monument nameless, also a mutilated figure of Ann Cheyne, also one brass to Richard Frysely,

* To the love of learning I owe much, but to the impropriety of words, nothing, 1619.

* A Saxon word meaning as much as Pars or Portio, in Latin. In olden time it meant a Meadow and called a Dole Medow, in 4 Jac cap ii., because divers persons had shares in it; the word still is used to signify a share, as to deal a Dole, thus he dealt his Dole among so many poor people, that is that he gave every one a share or part. See Cowell's Interpreter, 1607.

First Dean of the College, dated 1415. The College consisted of six Canons, a Dean, and four Clerks. Irthlingborough is mentioned in Domesday as Erdiburne and Erdinurne, and Irthleboro', locally called Hartlebury.

Mounting our break the Cocked Hats proceeded across the ancient bridge of the time of Henry II. 1170—1188. Higham Bridge is a very fine Thirteenth-century structure with ribbed arches and deep projecting buttresses, the bridge has been widened on one side and modern brick arches have been inserted above the old ones. A ladder leads from the bridge to the meadows, down which we ought to have descended, but as the water of the Nene was out we remained on dry land. On one of the buttresses on the south side is the Arms of Peterborough.

HIGHAM FERRARS.

After a drive of half-an-hour we arrived at Higham Ferrars which was erected into a borough by prescription during the reign of Mary I., of unenviable repute, 1533. It was first chartered by Philip and Mary in 1555 and again by James I. in 1605; afterwards by Charles II. in 1651. It had the privilege of sending one Member to Parliament granted to it in the second year of Queen Mary, when the right to vote was vested in the members of the Corporation, and all other freemen being householders and not receiving Alms, which Act, disqualified them from voting.

The Corporation consists of a Mayor, seven Aldermen, and thirteen Burgesses. The Mayor, for the time of his office, is proprietor of the Manor of Borough Hold. He has the right to call and hold a Court-Leet, once in three weeks, to determine actions under £11 and a Court Leet, before the expiration of his mayoralty.

The market is held on Saturdays, and the fairs take place on the Thursday before the 5th of February, the 7th of March, Thursday before old May-day, the 28th of June; Thursday before the 5th of August, the 11th of October, and 6th of December.

The Borough takes the name of Ferrars from William

Ferrars, Earl of Derby, who held the Knight's fees, of Warwick, Lincoln, Northampton, and Derby, which Henry his father and his uncle had held of Earl Robert, the grandfather, who held them of William I. the Conqueror, who bestowed upon Henry, Earl of Ferrars, in Normandy, the Lordship of Etingdon in Warwickshire; but it did not assume the name until it was in the possession of his grandson, Robert Ferrars, who was arrested for treason and plotting against Henry III. (1216—1272), the King seized his lands and gave them to his youngest son, Edmund "Crouchback," Earl of Lancaster, Leicester and Derby.

Edmund married firstly, Avelina, daughter of William de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle, but had no issue. He married secondly, Blanche, Queen Dowager of Navarre, daughter of Robert, Count d'Artois, and had a son, Thomas, who, as Earl of Lancaster, was beheaded at Pontefract, in Yorkshire, 1312, in the fifteenth year of Edward II.

Aylmer de Valence,* Earl of Pembroke, cousin of Edward I., seems to have had the manor in his possession, but on the reversion of the Bill of Attainder against the beheaded nobleman, his son Henry got it in his possession. He was succeeded by his son Henry, Earl of Lancaster, who, dying in 1345, was succeeded by his son, Henry, Earl of Derby, created Duke of Lancaster, who died in 1360, leaving two daughters, co-heiresses, Maud, who married, firstly, Ralph, son and heir of Lord Stafford, who dying, she married, secondly, William, fifth Duke of Bavaria, in 1339, and died in 1362, *sine prole*. Blanche, the second daughter, married John of Gaunt, the "time honoured Lancaster" of Shakespere. Thus, through John of Gaunt, King Henry IV. became possessed of it, and at his death it passed on to Henry V. (1413—1422), who settled it on the Archbishop of Canterbury, Prince Bishop of Durham, and thus it was, that Chicheley possessed Higham.

* A tall, pale, man, nicknamed Joseph the Jew. He was the cause of the deaths of Nigel the Bruce, Piers Gaveston, and Thomas of Lancaster. He died in some mysterious manner in France, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, 1323. His wife, Mary de St. Pol, founded the college of Valence Mary, at Cambridge, in 1347, to his memory. It is now called Pembroke College.

In this parish, if not town, Henry Chicheley was born of very humble parents, he himself being a swineherd. He was educated at Winchester, and having been appointed to several preferments in the church, was made by William of Wykeham, one of the first fellows of his newly founded college of St. Mary of Winchester, now called New, at Oxford A.D. date 1380—1386. In 1409 he was sent by King Henry IV. to the Council of Pisa, and was consecrated by the Pope Alexander V.*, in 1409, as Bishop of St. David's in Wales, at Vienne.† He was advanced to the See of Canterbury by King Henry V., in 1414, ultimately attained the highest honours that the king and country could bestow. Sixtieth Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1414 to 1443. Arms, "Or on a chevron between three cinquefoiles gules."

From motives of policy he refused a Cardinal's hat. Desirous of the spiritual power of the Romish See, he was a violent persecutor of Lollardism, yet no man in his position, was a stronger asserter of the liberties of Englishmen, or a more determined opposer of Papal usurpations and encroachments.

He made and clearly defined, the difference between State Popery and Church Popery; opposing the former, supporting the latter. When the Parliament met at Leicester, April 30th, A.D. 1414, in the time of Henry V., a plan was formed for the dissolution of the Abbeys. Chicheley, by his policy, rendered the motion abortive, satisfying the royal wishes by a grant of a large benevolence from the clergy and promises of more. His love of learning and his liberal encouragement for its diffusion are well shown in the institutions which he founded, fostered, and endowed, viz., St. Bernard's Hospital, in 1437, afterwards which by the additional bounty of Sir Thomas White, Lord Mayor of London, 1555, became St. John's

* Petrus Phylargyus, a monk of the Franciscan order, born in Candia and died in Rome, 1410.

† Vienne in France, the capital of Burgundy, one of the most ancient towns of France, flourishing long before Lyons existed. It is mentioned by Cæsar (*De Bello Gallico*, Lib. vii. c. ix. *His constitutis rebus, &c., &c. Viennam pervenit*) by Ausonius, "*Accolit Alpibus opulentia Vienna colonis*;" and by Martial. It was the residence of the Dauphins, and the celebrated Ecclesiastical Council was held here in 1307, by Pope Clement V. and Philippe le Bel, which condemned the Order of the Templars.

College, Oxford, and All Souls' College which was founded by him in 1438, he died in 1443, temp. Henry VI. He erected, at Higham Ferrars, as a mark of gratitude for his great fortune, the church, the college, the school, refectory, dormitory, and the cross (of which only a part of the shaft remains).

The Cocked Hats were met by the vicar, who conducted them over his church; a very ancient building, the west front of which is worthy of notice from the elaborate display of carving that ornaments it. The altitude of the tower to the battlements is seventy-one feet, and the spire rises to the height of ninety feet above the tower. The structure is Early-English and Decorated with a few Perpendicular additions.

The church originally consisted of an Early-English nave, chancel, and aisles, with a west tower; about 1290 the north aisle was altered and widened so as to form a second nave and a lady chapel forming the second chancel. The Early-English wall of the chancel proper was pierced with Decorated arches opening into the lady chapel; the north aisle was added later. The spire was built, new windows were made throughout the church, and the chancel transformed into the Decorated style, in the year 1340, or thereabout. In the first half of the 17th century the tower and spire became ruinous, and fell to the ground. They were rebuilt, Archbishop Laud (1622—1633), contributing largely towards the cost. Articles of agreement were drawn up between the Corporation of Higham Ferrars and Richard Atkins, mason, by which the latter engaged, in consideration of receiving CXXXV£ to rebuild the steeple.

An inscription on the exterior records that:—

“The steeple was begun to be builded April 20, 1631,
and finished in 1632. Richard Atkins of Northamp.
the workman.”

The lower part of the tower was not affected.

The west door, which has been spoken of, bears more of a foreign type than English; the tympanum is filled with circles containing sculptures with diaper work between them. The subjects, on the north side, are “The Salutation of the

Virgin Mary and Elizabeth;" "The Angel appearing to Zacharias;" "The Wise Men's Offering;" "The Lord in the Temple;" "The Baptism:" on the south side, "The Angels appearing to the Shepherds;" "The Crucifixion;" "The Annunciation;" "The Disciples at the Sepulchre;" and "The Descent into Hell." All this work is in Barnack stone, and has been heightened with colour.

The church was made collegiate by Archbishop Chicheley, of Canterbury, in 1415, who dying, was buried here. On a tomb dividing the chancel from the Lady chapel are the arms of England, and the vicar told the Cocked Hats that it was prepared for one of the Earls of Lancaster, but that none were buried there; but there is on it, a brass to Laurence Seymour, or St. Maur, from 1289 to 1337. It never belonged to the tomb, but has been inserted much later. On the marble slab is a brass inlaid, on which is the portrait of a man bearing on the breast an inscription:

"Fili Dei miserere mei;"

round the frieze of the arch are the words:

"Suscipiat me Christus, qui vocavit me, in sinu Abrahe,
angeli deducant me;"

beneath the figure on the marble:

"Hic jacit Laurentius de Sto Mauro quondam rector
istius Ecce cujus anime propicietur Deus."

A small door, east of this tomb, opens into a sacristy at the back of the altar of the Lady chapel. On a stone in the chancel are brasses of a man habited as a monk and a woman in the dress of a nun, supposed to represent William Chicheley, brother of the Archbishop, and Beatrix, his wife. Other stones have emblems and inscriptions, but most of the brasses have been removed. On the chancel floor is a brass to the parents of Archbishop Chicheley; a Latin cross, with the emblems of the Evangelists, and the Majesty of the Second Person in the centre. The inscription reads thus:

"Thomas Chichele, died February 25th, 1400, and Agnes,
his wife."

It has not escaped disfigurement, for on the slab R.S. 1773, is incised. There are two other brasses, one to

Richard Wylles, Warden of the College; another for a priest (nameless), 1498, and a third for William Thorpe, "Marcer," died 1504, and his wife; no name or date, and the whole building was well restored and unaltered in 1860.

At the present time the church consists of a nave and chancel, with a south aisle; of a second nave and chancel, north of the former, and another north aisle. The two chancels end in the same line. There are three ranges of piers, and the two naves are of the same width. After dark it is lighted by gas from the hall adjacent. Here in the churchyard, on the north side, a little in advance of the tower, is the school, a Perpendicular building of three bays, with large windows, open battlements, and buttresses with finials in the inside; at the eastern end is a stone pulpit; at the west end is an open bell-cot; at the east end is the chapel, ascended by six steps from the hall. Nearly opposite are the remains of a Decorated stone cross, raised on steps. On the south side of the churchyard is the bede-house, or hospital, for twelve poor men and one woman; while twelve of the oldest and most deserving men of the town are still continued as bedesmen,* under the care of the Corporation. Their allowance, was in Chicheley's time, a penny a day. The original vicarage house stands near the bede-house, on the west, and this completes the group of buildings. The college is in the main street at some distance north-west of the church; it was founded here in 1422 by Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, for eight secular canons, one of whom was to be master, four clerks (clerics), one as grammar master, one as music master, and six choristers, for the support of which he endowed it with several estates.

The domestic buildings of the college are very ruinous. They were built as a quadrangle, of which the gateway alone remains, with three niches above it; some square-headed windows, and the arch of a larger window, blocked up under a gable.

The name of Chicheley was in the register of Higham until the middle of the 17th century. The Archbishop had

* From the Saxon bead or bede from "beten," to pray or rehearse.

two brothers; one became Lord Mayor of London and the other Alderman and Sheriff.

Northward of the church is a spot called Castle Yard, the site of a castle supposed to have been built by one of the family of Ferrars, but more probably by Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, son of Edmund, younger son of Henry III., who obtained the lordship in the fiftieth year (1266) of that monarch's reign.

In the fifth year of the reign of Edward II., 1310, Edmund was at the head of the nobles who demanded, and obtained, the dismissal of Piers de Gaveston, the royal favourite.* He took the lead in the armed confederacy which brought the two De Spencers to the gallows, and ending in the dethronement of the king in 1327.

Nothing remains of this castle but a few hollows, heaps of ruins and foundations of walls.

RUSHDEN.

Having thus visited Higham Ferrars we travelled on to Rushden, one-and-a-half miles, to see the interior of the church, where there is an arch put up by one Butcher, which opens from the south transept into the chancel aisle. It bears this inscription on the soffite:—

“Yis Arche made hue Bochar and Julian hise wyf of
whos sowlus God have merci upon Amen.”

We had not time to visit this church properly, for service of some sort, was going on, a poor effete young person trying to preach—a puny attempt, read from a book.

The church consists of a short broad nave of three bays and broad aisles, a chancel and aisles of two bays. The walls are of the early Decorated period, except those of the tower, which are late Decorated. The nave, pillars, and tower windows are early Perpendicular, for in the early part of the sixteenth century the chancel, piers, arches, windows, and battlements, were built, altered, and the present roofs were erected. The tower has upon it a finely tapered spire. In the chancel is a piscina and sediliæ, and font, of the

* Beheaded at Guy's Cliffe, near Warwick, July 1st, 1312.

early Decorated period. There are some monuments to the Pemberton family, but they do not call for any special notice other than one which records the virtues of a wife, thus:—

“ We had eight children, to augment our joys
For her, fower daghters and for me, fower boys.”

Mr. Pemberton was one of the gentlemen ushers to Queen Elizabeth. The family had considerable possessions, and were seated at Higham Park, in the parish of Rushden, for several generations. The present demesne was imparked about the time of Henry II., 1154 to 1180, when the manor belonged to the Crown. In the time of James I. 1603—1625, a proclamation was issued in the twenty-second year of his reign, 1625, for the apprehension of persons, who should commit outrages in this royal park of Higham Ferrars by killing deer, assaulting and beating the keepers. It was afterwards granted to a family of the name of Long, but is now disparked.

IRCHESTER.

The Cocked Hats made their way towards Irchester which receives its name from a Roman Fortification to which the Saxons gave the name of Cestre from the Latin word *Castrum*, a camp, and so its name has been converted in these later times to Chesters.

The Burgh is, or rather was, in the form of a parallelogram containing about eighteen acres, the wall was about nine feet thick, “ herring-bone ” built, faced with flat stones; at the present time, owing to agricultural purposes, the camp is square, containing about nine acres; on the north side, towards the River Nene, a road runs along the top of the foundations of the wall. The area of the *Castrum* when ploughed up is found to be full of pottery, of that generally called *Caistor ware*, coins of the Lower Empire of the Romans, *Adrianus*, A.D. 117; *Faustina*, A.D. 138; *Antoninus*, A.D. 138; *Constantinus*, A.D. 337; *Gratianus*, A.D. 375, and in an orchard adjoining the manor house were found, a quantity of small brass coins, inclosed in an earthen pot which had a ring and chain attached to it.

Some years ago among the ruins on the south side of the

mansion, two quadrangular pillars about four feet high and two feet square were discovered. These, though apparently uninscribed stones, were evidently sepulchral altars; fragments of tessellated and Roman bricks have been ploughed up, all of which clearly demonstrate, that this was a Roman encampment, which, from the immense thickness of the walls, and the river immediately running under them, proves that it was a position of considerable importance.

The Cocked Hats were invited to the house of R. Arkwright, Esq., where they were shown two stone coffins in the garden, then in the hall, the large series of bowls and colanders, all of which, and also a number of coins, had been exhibited by Sir Henry Drayton, F.S.A., at the Society of Antiquaries.

The most remarkable discovery here is a slab bearing this inscription :

“D.M.S., Amicius Saturn strator Cas M.S.F.”

This word Strator is said to mean the attendant, who helped the Emperor to mount his horse, but as it is not mentioned in Adams or Ainsworth, and there is no evidence of the same.

Here tea was provided.

We did not go to the Camp, in a fourteen acre field, as it had been sown with corn, and thus inaccessible, without doing great damage to the farmer, but mounting our carriage we went to the Midland Railway Station of Irchester and returned to Bedford, where an excellent dinner at the Swan Hotel had been provided, which, having been partaken of hurriedly, some Cocked Hats left for London,

“Happy to meet, sorry to part; happy to meet again,”

Those who remained, after pleasant conversation and a cigar, the signal being given by the gas being turned off, and candles brought in, wended their way to their bed-chambers.

BEDFORD,

A borough and the county town of Bedfordshire. It is situated on both sides of the River Ouse, which is navigable to the German Ocean, and its length is about 160 miles to the sea. Bedford is forty-eight miles N.N.W. of London. It

has been asserted by Camden that the town is of high antiquity, but this learned man doubts if it was the *Lactodorum*,* (which is Towcester), of Antoninus, as it does not stand on a Roman road, nor have Roman coins been found in or about it. But he states that the British name of the place was *Lifwidur* or *Lattidur*. *Lettuy* in British signifies public inns (hotels or hostelries), and *Lettidur*, inns on a river, exactly as *Bedford* in English means *Beds* and *Inns* at a ford; but this verbrage is not at all satisfactory, and has no health in it for the *Cocked Hats*. The town is, the *Bedicanford* of the *Saxon-Chronicle*, a fortress on a river.

What says Father Thomas Smith in his "*Angli de Republica Anglorum*," dated 1630, about Bedfordshire (?)

BEDFORDIA.

"A Septentr. *Huntidgdoniensi* agro, ab *Ortu Cantabrigiensi* et *Hertfordia*, ab *Occidente Buckinghamiensi* et *Northanthonensi* conjungitur. A *Borea* in *Austrum* xxiv. ab *ortu* in *occasum* xiv. mill. patet. *Ambilus* lxxiii. mill. pass. circumscribitur. Dividitur in ix. centurias in quibus oppida *Ecclesiæ* cxvi.

"Præcipium hujus oppidum *Bedfordia*, copiosum admodum et peramœne situm, usa per medium se agente qui ponte saxeo specioso conjungitur. *Ecclesias* habet quinque"

When the Romans landed in Britain, B.C. 55, the inhabitants were the *Cassi*, or *Cattieuchlani*, whose Chief, *Cassivellaunus*, marched at the head of his people against the incursion of *Cæsar*, by whom the chief was totally defeated during the year $\frac{5}{2}$ B.C.

Constantine the Great divided Britain into five provinces. Bedfordshire was included in the third division, which was called *Flavia Cæsariensis*. The Saxons established the *Heptarchy* and the kingdom of *Mercia* was founded by *Crida* in the year 585. It consisted of *Chester*, *Derby*, *Nottingham*, *Lincoln*, *Shropshire*, *Stafford*, *Leicester*, *Rutland*, *North-*

* *Iter VI. A LONDINIO*

	Mil Pas.		Mil Pas.
<i>Verolamis</i> (<i>St Albans</i>) . . .	21	<i>Magiovinto</i> (<i>Fenny Stratford</i>) . .	12
<i>Durocobrius</i> (<i>Dunstable</i>) . . .	12	<i>Lactodoro</i> (<i>Towcester</i>) . . .	16

ampton, Huntingdon, Hereford, Worcester, Warwick, Gloucester, Oxford, Buckingham, parts of Hertford and Bedford. Macpherson, in his *Annals of Commerce*, says that the word *Myrenarie* properly means Woodland Kingdom. Lingard says, the people were called Mercians, from the marshy district in which they were settled. Bedfordshire was part of that kingdom, under the name of *Bedicanford*. When Alfred divided England into counties, hundreds, and tythings, he applied the name of *Bedeford* to this shire, hence its present appellation of Bedfordshire, the chief town of which is Bedford, a town on the banks of the Ouse, which rises from two sources near Middleton, Cheney, or Chenduit, in Northamptonshire, and enters Bedfordshire a mile below Turvey. This river becomes navigable at Bedford; runs through Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire; passing the City of Ely, it enters Norfolk and falls into the Wash at King's Lynn.

The morning of Sunday, July 15th, broke magnificently; the air warm and perfumed by the many flowers which were growing in the pretty garden at the back of the Swan Hotel.

The hour of 4 A.M. found the writer busy, in putting together certain "*disjecta membra*," which now constitute this pamphlet.

"Awake my soul and with the sun
Thy daily stage of duty run;
Shake off dull sloth and early rise
To pay thy morning sacrifice."

but this being Sunday I work no more to-day, but mean to take my Sabbath (שַׁבָּת) and enjoy that quiet rest that shall recoup the strength of the weary.

"Come unto me all ye that are weary and I will give you rest."

At about 7 A.M. I saw our kind friend and organiser of the Cocked Hat outings, Mr. Alfred White, walking in the pretty garden of the Swan Hotel, so turning the key of my bedroom door, I hastened to join him in his perambulation. We wandered and winded up a large artificial mound, which we learned from a man (who was taking matting off some

garden lights, and opening them gently), was all that remained of the Castle, and that on this mound was built the keep. This information was not quite correct, and yet there was a scintilla of truth in it, for it has been generally supposed that the Saxons, on taking possession of Bedicanforda, fortified the north bank of the Ouse to render themselves secure against the Britons and Danes that might have been left of their forerunners.

Nothing is known about Bedford until the time of Uffa,* King of Mercia, A.D. 571, who formed the kingdom of East Anglia, and whose followers were called Angles, and from whom the kings of this state took the name of Uffingas, and is supposed to have been buried here, in a chapel on the banks of the Ouse, which was carried away by a flood.

But to revert to the Castle. In the reign of Henry I. Perganus de Beauchamp added to, and used, this mound of earth as a Castle, which, was the scene of several sieges. In 1132 King Henry I. drove Milo de Beauchamp out of it by force. In King Stephen's reign this mound, or castle, suffered two sieges, in 1136 against Milo, and in 1138 against the Scots. In the reign of King John, 1196—1216, William de Beauchamp forfeited it by receiving the Barons who, under the leadership of Robert Fitz-Walter, had been defeated at Northampton; it was granted to Fulke de Brento. When in 1224 it was besieged by Henry III., Fulke's brother William having siezed Henry de Braybrook, the Chief Justice, and kept him prisoner there. Henry was present at the siege from June 22nd to July 19th, but the Castle held out until August 14th, when eighty of the defenders were hanged. The Castle still held out for another day, when twenty four men, beside the sick and wounded, were brought before the king, who ordered the twenty-four defenders to be hanged, the mound to be levelled to the ground, and all the fosses to be filled up and levelled to the earth, and thus it is that nothing of the Castle remains other than this mound, on the top of which is the fine bowling green that we saw in the early morning of Sunday.

So taking the road on the embankment by the side of the

* Not Offa, who lived 200 years later.

Ouse, we got back to the Swan Hotel where breakfast was soon served, and the story of the artificial mound that we had seen in the early morning, was related. Breakfast ended, the Cocked Hats started off on foot for the village of

CLAPHAM,

about two miles distant; a charming walk under a hot sun, and arriving at the church well in time before service began, were comfortably seated. Other than the parish children and a few grown up people, we formed the bulk of the congregation. Service ended, we stayed in the church-yard until the congregation dispersed. We introduced ourselves to the Venerable Archdeacon Haddock, the Rector, who showed us over the little building, the tower of which is very large, low, and square, the lower part is Saxon to the first string course if not the second, externally it has small lancet lights. Above second string course the Architecture is late Norman, while the top storey is of brick with battlements, about the time of George III., or perhaps even more modern.

The Rector told us that the walls of the tower at its base were five feet in thickness, and that the second stage about three feet, so of course each Cocked Hat measured the splay of the aperture with his umbrella. In the third or upper stage is a fine peal of bells, dating 1645, say middle 17th century, there are two openings, wide arched and divided by a thick baluster shafting. We now descended from the tower, and entered through the south door into the church dedicated to St. Thomas-a-Becket, which was built by Sir Gilbert Scott (Mr.) in 1861, the nave and aisles being much decayed, they were pulled down and nothing of the old fabric remains, other than a small portion of the external walls, and now under the care of our late iconoclastic friend, the church has blossomed into a chancel, nave and aisles of the Early English type of architecture; some traces of wall painting exist, which have been carefully preserved, and are *in situ*. In the chancel is a brass plate to the memory of

“Anne Waferer, y^e wife of Thomas Turner of Audley
End in Essex who deceased in child bedd the viij day
of Feb. A° Di 1617 ”

the armorial bearing is, on a bend three cross crosslets, a chief indented, impaling a fesse engrailed between three plates.

Thomas Taylor, a former Lord of the Manor, of Clapham, who died 25th August, 1689, aged twenty-five, was buried here; also his daughter Ursula, a co-heiress, who died 20th March, 1703, aged fifteen. In the original building there was no so-called chancel, and which possibly might date from the time of Henry IV. or V. The Cocked Hats thanked the Ven. Archdeacon for his courtesy in permitting them to see over his church, and for his kindness in telling them about it, and pointing out all that was to be seen, and its history.

Clapham, in Domesday, is written Clopeham, which is said to be derived from the Saxon Clapha, and was held by Milo Crispin, tenant in chief; was rated at 5 hides, 30 carucates arable, 10 carucates in demesne, 8 ploughs, 6 carucates meadow-land, wood for 200 swine, and a payment of 6*d.* a day and a mill valued at 40*s.* Brietric, a Thane of King Edward the Confessor, held this manor of the Abbott of Ramsay, and in 1041 it was valued at £12. In the time of William the Conqueror, 1066, and in Domesday Book, 1086, it is valued at £24.

On our return to Bedford we walked over the fields, discarding the verse in Scripture, "By the way that he came by the same shall he return,"* and passed an extra mural cemetery, which before long will be in the town, and cannot be "extra mural," for Bedford has no walls. The Cocked Hats looked into the church of St. Peter de Merton, which has had the plaster scraped off its interior walls and presented a very rough interior. There is a small Norman style of opening, on the north side of the chancel, and in the tower is very much earlier work. In the north wall of the belfry is a good Saxon arch and other stones of later date.

This church stands close to a triangular piece of land called St. Peter's Green, at the southern apex of which is a monument and finely cast figure of the celebrated John Bunyan, by Boehm, and it is one of the best that he has turned out of his studio. It is of bronze, ten feet high, and weighs nearly three tons, made from cannons taken

* 2 Kings xix. 33; Isaiah xxxvii. 34.

during the Chinese War, and executed by the sculptor at the expense of the Duke of Bedford. Bunyan is dressed in the tight fitting tunic and knee breeches of the Puritan period, with a very short cloak over the shoulders. On the base of the statute is the name, copied from his own signature. It was unveiled by the late Hon. Lady Augusta Stanley, wife of the Dean of Westminster, June 10th, 1874.

So back to the Hotel, where luncheon was provided, and that ended, the break was ready to take the Cocked Hats for a drive round to the neighbouring villages, and the route was for

WILLINGTON.

The name of this village in Domesday Book is written Welintone, Hugh de Beauchamp being the tenant in chief. It was rated at 10 hides, 5 in demesne, and 3 ploughs, 5 carucates of meadow-land and pasturage for 40 swine, a mill at 12s. and a tribute of 40 eels. Leland says:—

“The village of Willington is commodiously set in a fair gravelly ground, and fair wood in sum places about it. It longged to the Beauchampes, Barons of Bedeford, sins it in partition to the Lord Moulbray of Axholme.”

When the Cocked Hats arrived here, afternoon church service had not ended, so they went to look at two very remarkable buildings in the churchyard, the one a stable, the other a dovecote. In former times there were five of these buildings, one a large barn, in which it has been stated that a coach and six horses could be easily turned round in it, doubtless built by a Sir John Gostwick who was Master of the Horse to King Henry VIII., and who lived here in succession to Sir Nicholas Carew, Knight of the Garter, who, as Master of the Horse, was beheaded March 3rd, 1539, for holding correspondence with Cardinal Reginald Pole. King Henry held a council here October 21st, 1541.

Service being over, the Cocked Hats intruded into the church, where they introduced themselves to the Vicar, the Rev. Augustus Orlebar, and were by him most kindly received; they looked over the Church and the Registers. On searching the Church Chest they found a dilapidated volume of Bishop Jewel's sermons dated 1611, which they suggested

should be collated and bound. On moving this valuable relic one of them found a little mouse which the writer caught and crushed in his hand. They also found a dilapidated copy of a Bible 1610; the writer suggested that if His Reverence would intrust these volumes to his care he would put them into repair. The Vicar said, "You are a stranger, but I will consult my Churchwardens;" in the end, the books were sent up to the writer, who repaired and returned them to the Vicar with the annexed letter:—

"Rev. and Dear Sir,

"By this night's mail I have the honour to hand you your 'Jewel's Homilies' and 'Bishop's' Bible, which I have put into as perfect order as I possibly could. The back is entirely new, but the junction of the old leather with the new is completely hidden by the metal part marked A, thus it matches.

"I have the greatest pleasure in handing the book to you, and may I venture to hope that greater care may be taken of it. I shall ask you to accept it as a mark of respect, for I feel that to have intrusted such a treasure with a perfect stranger, as I am to you, was a mark of the highest confidence in me, and I trust that when you see it in its alter'd or rather un-alter'd form, that it will give you every satisfaction.

"(Signed) GEORGE LAMBERT."

In this church are some memorials of the dead, notably one to Sir John Gostwick, 1541, on an altar tomb. There is another, an alabaster effigy of Sir William Gostwick, 1615, and a mural monument to Sir Edward Gostwick and his Lady, 1630. On this is an excellent example of a chronogram in the inscription on the monument:—

In obitum Dⁿⁱ Edvardi Gostwyk Equitis et Baronetti
Chronogramma } EDVARDVS GOSR WYK DEFVNCTVS EST.

20^o Die Semptembris { DOM. MDCXXX.

ANN

{ ÆTAT 42.

In obitum selectissimæ DNÆ.

Chronogramma

ADPROPERATQVE VIRO CONIVNGIER VXOR AMATO

6^o Die Julii.

Ann. {

Dom. MDCXXXIII.

ÆTAT. 42.

The church is dedicated to St. Lawrence and consists of a chancel, nave, and north aisle, which is divided by three perpendicular arches beyond which aisle, and extending the same length, is the Gostwick Chapel, this is now partially filled in by walling, and we found some boys under the care of a lady rehearsing some hymns or canticles for a future service. The Gostwick family had resided in this village since 1209, although not lords of the manor; there is a brass here to the memory of one Robert Gostwick dated 1325. The church has been restored at the expense of the Duke of Bedford, Mr. Clutton being the architect.

The tiled floor is by Minton & Co., who have copied some old tiles which were found in the church, and under some flat grave stones in the centre of the nave.

We were informed that there are five bells in the tower, two quite plain, two the gift of the Gostwick family, and one bears this inscription:—

“O Martir Xpofore, Pro Nobis semper Orate.”

There is a communion plate and cup given in 1685 by Sir William Gostwick, Knight and Baronet; and a flagon given in 1697 by Charles Gostwick, Esquire. There are some helmets which are said to have been worn by some of the Gostwick Family, one of whom, Sir John, went with his Sovereign to the Field of the Cloth of Gold, in France, between Ardres and Guienne.

Having troubled the Rev. Mr. Orlebar for nearly two hours we bid him farewell, mounted our break and started off for

COPLE,

formerly Cowpul. Cople is a village full of associations, here the learned and somewhat eccentric Samuel Butler, the Author of “Hudibras” entered into the service of Sir Samuel Luke as Secretary, and Sir Samuel is supposed to have been the prototype of the character of Hudibras. Here also lived the Spenser Family, with whom the poet Edmund was, in some way, connected, although he was born in East Smithfield, London, in 1553, nothing being known of his parents.

The church is of late 14th century work, with a tower at the west-end, and a turret at the north-east angle. The

interior consists of a chancel, a nave, north and south aisles. Adjoining the chancel are two mortuary chapels.

The arches separating these chapels from the chancel spring from corbels of demi angels, bearing shields; those on the south side are carved, the armorial bearings of Thomas Gray and Launcelyn, his wife; and in the south mortuary chapel was an epitaph and tomb of Thomas Grey, with this inscription:—

“ What can might, power, or auntient blood anaile,
Or els Riches that men count felicitie;
What can they help fearfull death to assaile,
Certes nothing and that is pued by me,
That had their gifts rehersed with all plentie.
Nevertheless yet am I laide lowe in claye,
That whilom was Squier called Thomas Grey.
Bennet my wife is eke for this world past,
Yet we trust to be had in memorye
As long as the Parish of Cople shall last,
For our benefite done to yt largely.
As witness xx pounce with other guifts many,
Wherefore all Christn men yt go by this way
Pray for the soules of Bennet and Thomas Grey.”

There is upon the tomb “ 5 sonns and xiiij daughters, she was a coheir of Launceline owner of Cople, Bedfordshire, and also of Divers other lands in Huntingdonshire; the said Launceline had also ij other daughters and co-heirs, the one named Anne married to Sir Walter Luke, Knight Chefe Baron of the exchequer wich Anne died the 36 Hen. VIII. she was nurse to his Majestie. The said Sir Walter died the 36 Hen. VIII.”

On the north, the device of Sir Walter Luke, a hat with “l.e.p.,” in allusion to a privilege granted by Henry VIII. to wear his hat in the royal presence, Anne Launcelyn having been the King’s nurse. There are many brasses in the church to the Launcelyn, Roland, Luke, Grey, Bulkeley, 1556, and Spenser families.

The Manor of Roland takes its name from a family of that name, to whose memory there are some brasses in the church, which subsequently was in the possession of the

Spencer family, the last of whom was Nicholas Spencer, who died Dec. 16th, 1707.

Cople House is not far from the church in the occupation of a Mr. Thomas Barnard. It was at one time the seat of Lord Ludlow, who, dying in 1842, it passed to his cousin, William, the eighth Duke of Bedford, who was the owner. He died, *sine prole*, in May, 1872.

The principal manor was by Domesday Book granted to Hugh de Beauchamp, who died in 1208. He gave by will the great tithes to the Priory of Chicksand, from this it passed to the heiress of the Mowbrays, and from them in 1541 to the Gostwicks who parted with it to Sarah, the wife of the great Duke of Marlborough, whose descendant sold it in 1774 to John Duke of Bedford.

In this parish is a house called Woodend, and in the mansion, pulled down in 1858 by the Duke of Bedford, Samuel Butler is supposed to have written his first three cantos of "Hudibras," and it is said that one of the rooms in Woburn Abbey is fitted up with the carvings which were formerly in Woodend House.

The interior of the church was disfigured by a lot of tawdry rubbish, texts, dirty paper flowers and banners.

Well may the Cocked Hats say with the poet Alexander Pope:—

"Thou Great First Cause least understood
Who all my sense confined
To know but this, that Thou art Good,
And that myself am Blind."

Having fairly gone over the church, the Cocked Hats started in the break for

CARDINGTON,

a village about three miles distant from Bedford, where for some time the great philanthropist John Howard resided. His house is close to the church but has been added to. The church is dedicated to St. Mary, with a nave and south aisle, separated by three Decorated arches on clustered piers, it has a central tower supported by arches of the Early-English style, the bells were recast in the eighteenth

century, or more probably new bells supplied. The chancel has two aisles separated by two Perpendicular arches under which are two altar tombs with brasses beneath canopies to the Gascoyne and Hervey families A.D. 1632-1638 ; there are also monuments to the Blundell and Whitbread families. The roof is of oak moulded and panelled, grand specimens of the sculptor's art ; the windows are of the Perpendicular period. It was taxed by Pope Nicholas about 129 $\frac{1}{2}$ at £10.

In Domesday Book the lands of Kerdyngton were held by Judith the Countess, but Hugh de Beauchamp held the Manor. The principal Manor descended through the Pigott family by marriage to the Gascoines, which family ended in two heiresses, but how they got the Manor is not quite known. One of these ladies married Sir Gerard Hervey of Thurleigh, and the other, Sir George Blundell. In 1731 George Blundell, Esq., of Cardington Manor, served the office of High Sheriff of Bedfordshire.

From the representatives of this family the Whitbreads purchased the Manor, and the present Mr. Whitbread is the possessor, he is the M.P. for the Borough of Bedford.

There are two hamlets in the Parish, Eastcotts and Harrowden, which in Domesday were held by Nigil de Albini, but the Canons of Bedford, who held under the Countess Judith, had no right to alienate or sell the same, of Harrowden, which had been held by Azelin, a homager of Earl Tosti, without the permission of the Lord of the Manor of Kempston.

Before leaving Cardington Church, it may be here remarked, that the destroying hand of the church restorer has not, as yet, been brought into play ; old fashioned box pews some two or three with small fire-stoves therein are still remaining, so thanking the sextoness for shewing us the church, the Cocked Hats mounted into the break and started for

ELSTOWE,

passing the cottage where the justly renowned John Bunyan was born and lived.* The village is about a mile-and-three-quarters south of Bedford Town on the road to London. In

* See Appendix, "Bunyan."

days long gone by, it had a Benedictine Nunnery, founded in 1078, in the days of the Conqueror, by Judith, wife of Waltheof, Earl of Huntingdon, for nuns of the Order of St. Bennet, or Benedict, it was dedicated to the Virgin and St. Helen, Mother of Constantine the Great.

Nothing is left of this ancient building other than an Early-English vaulted stone crypt, with an octagonal pillar of Purbeck marble in the centre, from which the ribs spring. On the south side, at the west end of the Church, are some ruins, said to be the Chapter House. Attached to it are the remains of that, which, at one time, was an Elizabethan house, said to have been built by Sir Edward Radclyffe, who in 1598 was High Sheriff for Bedfordshire. He, by the death of Robert Radclyffe, a distant cousin, in 1629, became the sixth Earl of Sussex, but dying in 1641 *s.p.*, that Earldom became extinct. The ruins of this mansion stand on the site of the old nunnery, the foundations of which can easily be traced.

Elizabeth Bagville was the last Abbess, elected in 1530, and surrendered the nunnery to King Henry VIII. on August 27th, 1539, and Elinor Snow was the Prioress and surrendered her house to the Royal Commissioners August 26th, 1540. This house had both an Abbess and a Prioress, the former took care of the Revenues, and attended to the hospitality of the house, while the Prioress had the care of the nuns.

At the dissolution, the Revenues of the two houses were valued at £284 12s. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.

The church is a very fine structure; the arch over the north door, by which the Cocked Hats entered, is beautifully ornamented with a zigzag pattern, carved on the stone. The three arches of the chancel are round with square pillars. There are several stone shields around the walls ornamented with a cross and implements of the Passion; the eastern part of the church is Norman.

The two western bays are Early-English; curiously enough, there is no chancel arch. The clerestory windows of the chancel are Norman, and never were for the use of glass, while those of the nave are Early-English, and the sexton

told us that on opening them for the purpose of light (they having been plastered up) it was found that they had been glazed, and added, that some of the glass was in the vestry. There are the remains of a Perpendicular screen dividing the chancel from the nave; the west door is Early-English. The interior of the church has been scraped free from all plaster, and presents a rough surface to the eye, which engenders a most unpleasant feeling and coldness.

It would have reflected credit upon architect and builder if the interior had been neatly tuck-pointed with cement of the same colour as the stone.

Evening was now approaching and the bells were ringing loudly, summoning the congregation to worship, so one more look round the interior of the church for we had forgotten to look for the tomb of the Radclyffes which was erected at the east end of the present church by Sir Edward, the High Sheriff.

On this monument is the following Inscription :—

HERE LYTHE BODIES OF SR HVMPRE RADCLIF KNIGHT AND DAME
I SABEL HIS WIFE Wch SR HUMPHREY WAS SECOND SONNE OF ROBERT
E OF SVSSEX AND ELIZABETH DAUGHTER OF HENRY DVKE
OF BYCKINGHAM AND SAYD ISABELL DAUGHTER AND
SOLE HEYR OF* EDM HARVEY ESQ. AND MARY WENTWORTH
HIS WIFE ; THEY HAD ISSVE 2 SONNS THOMAS DECEASED—
EDWARD YET LIVINGE 4 DAYGHTERS MARY ONE OF THE GEN
TEL WOMEN OF THE PRIVY CHABYR TO Q. ELIZA-FRANCES MARRIED
TO HENRY CHEK ESQ. SOMETIME SECRETRY OF HER LAT MAJES—
COVNSEL ESTABLISHED IN YE [NORTH ?] ELZIBET MARRIED TO HEN.

OWEN ESQ

MARTHA MARRIED TO GOSTWICK YE SD SR HUMPHREY DIED
THE 13 DAY OF AVGVST 1566 BEING OF THE AGE OF
57 AT YE TME OF HIS DEATH AND DAM ISABEL HIS
WYFE LIVING AFTER HIM 28 YEARS DECEASED
BEING ABOUT THE AGE OF 76 IN THE Yr OF OVR LORD
1594 IN MEMORY OF WHOM Ys AFORSAYD MARY.

There are two brasses in the church, one to Dame

* Edmund Hervey was the fourth son of William Hervey of Ickworth in Suffolk, and Joan Coket of Ampton.—See "Suffolk Archæological Institute Proceedings," vol. ii. p. 417.

Elizabeth Hervey, one of the abbesses, near the door of the south aisle with this Inscription :—

✠ Orate pro Anima · domine Elizabeth · | · · · Hervey quondam Abbatisse
monasterij · de Elneſtow · que Obijt · | · die mensis · Anno · | · dñm
millessimo quingentesimo · . | · Ebbs Annæ · et Omn'm, . Adelium
defunctorum. |

There is a large figure in brass of an abbess in her Benedictine habit and a crosier in her right hand, above her head is a space which had had a brass, and over the head is another vacancy for a scroll of brass. In the four corners of the stone were four coats of arms, one of which only remains, bearing quarterly first and fourth a lion rampant, second and third a bend impaling a chief indented. That she was a member of the Hervey family there can be but little doubt, but by these armorial bearings there may be a possibility that she had been the wife of a Hervey, and a widow before she became abbess, and the daughter of some family bearing these impaled arms.

It is supposed that she was the daughter of John Hervey of Thurleigh and his wife Joan, daughter and co-heir of Sir John Niernuyt of Burnham in Buckinghamshire, if that be so, she must have been of great age when she died.

Possibly she might have been Elizabeth Hervey, sole daughter and heir to Sir George Hervey, grandson of the above John Hervey, who married Edmund Wanton, who in 13 Henry VIII., 1522, was aged 24 years; and the impaled arms are that of the Abbey, if it had any.

At the foot of this brass is another one of a lady in the habit of a nun, having at her feet a little dog, at the four corners of the slab of stone are four shields of arms, the first bearing three covered cups for Argentine, the second is gone, the third is party per pale indented with the bearing of Saint Liz, the Earl of Northampton and Huntingdon, the fourth has a bend on it. The inscription is as follows :

° in vigíl sci michis Archangl | |
Margeria bis viduata & filia Radulphi . . . de turre Ricardi, & hac
jacet in fossa data °
ut ulta petat loca florida pace p'henni. & Spiritus ista-bivens. trini pblses
pietatem, Amen. ° &
Obijt ante Anno- . | dñi |

Lord Alfred Hervey suggests that the gaps in the inscription should be filled up, thus:—

*Argentini uxor filia Radulphis Parlys sponsæ-que Joannæ
Nata, &c.
Joannis Talbot de Turre Ricardi, &c.*

In the Cole MSS. in the British Museum, the date of the death is given as M^oCCCC^oXXVII^o

This lady married, firstly in 1306, John Hervey, 2nd, Sir William Argentine; her will, dated 26th April, 1427, was proved at Lambeth on 26th of the October following; her second husband died in 1419.

The second coat which is wanting on the tomb, is that of the Talbot family, gules, two bars vair azure and argent; the third coat that remains is that of Parlys, per pale indented or and azure. There are some memorials to the families of Crompton, Lovett, and Hillersden, who in 1742 had the right of presenting to the living, and in 1763, one William Farrer possessed that right. Leaving the church by the north-west door, we came upon the belfry, which is a short distance from the church (consequently detached.) It is of late Perpendicular work, and contains a ring of bells which bear the following inscriptions,

1. Christopher Graie made me. 1655.
2. PRAISE THE LORD. 1602.
3. God save the King. 1631.
4. A. B. C. D. E. F. G. A. B. C. D. E. R. S. T. V. W.
5. Be yt knowne to all doth me see that Newcombe of Leicester made mee. 1604.

On the village green near the church is a most interesting old barn now used by a dissenting congregation on Sundays. It was the Old Mote Hall of the Parish, and was probably erected about the end of the sixteenth or commencement of the seventeenth century. On this green are the remains of the village cross, of which only a bare stump remains.

Leaving this the Cocked Hats gained their break and travelled to the Swan Hotel where dinner was speedily served and eaten, for some of the party desired to reach London

that night to journey down to the South Eastern and South Western Suburbs, and wishing them good-bye and God-speed the remainder of the Cocked Hats determined to enjoy themselves and ferret out all they could of Bedford in the small space of time allotted to them, and so with a cigar and a glass of whiskey and water we bid good-night to all.

MONDAY, JULY 16TH, 1883.

Up betimes and pending the breakfast arrangement being got ready, again sauntered into the pretty garden of the Swan Hotel. Of course the Castle was the point of interest; this fortress on a river appears to have been the scene of a battle in 572 between the Saxon Cuthwulf and the Britons. It suffered greatly in the wars between the Saxons and the Danes who burnt it in 1010. A castle is said to have been built on the south side of the river by Edward the Elder, which was destroyed by the Danes; and Paganus de Beauchamp, A.D. 918—919, to whom the Barony* was given by William Rufus, finding that it was inadequate for defence thought it necessary to build on the north side of the river, and adjoining the town itself, a very strong castle which was surrounded by a vast entrenchment of earth, as well as a lofty and thick wall, and Camden says, while this castle stood there was no storm of civil war that did not burst upon it. In 1137, Stephen besieged it, and after great slaughter took it. Dugdale, who quotes ancient authorities, states that the King obtained it by surrender.

In 1216, William de Beauchamp, who possessed the Barony of Bedford, sided with the rebellious Barons; received them as friends into the castle which they were advancing to besiege.

King John sent his favourite Faukes† de Brent to summon the castle to surrender, and within a few days the King gave it to him together with the Barony for his services. Faukes

* The Barony was originally possessed by Hugh de Beauchamp, who followed in the suite of the Conqueror when he invaded England. The inheritance continued in the family until the Battle of Evesham, in the reign of Henry III., when John, the last possessor, was slain on the field.

† Falcasius or Fulco.

repaired and strengthened the castle, pulled down the collegiate church of St. Paul's, and set all law and authority at defiance. His outrages and depredations on his less powerful neighbours were so intolerant that in the year 1224, Martin Patersbul, Thomas de Moulton, and Henry Braybrooke, the King's justices, itinerant, then sitting at Dunstaple, (Dunstable) felt it their duty to fine him in the sum of £3000. Faukes was greatly provoked at this, sent his brother at the head of a party of armed men to seize the judges and bring them prisoners to Bedford. They had timely notice, and two of them escaped by flight, but Braybrooke was taken and carried to the castle where he was shamefully treated.

King Henry III. incensed at these proceedings, determined to bring De Brent to punishment. He marched to Bedford attended by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the principal barons of the realm. The Church was so provoked at Faukes' conduct, that the prelates and abbots granted voluntary aid to the King, and for every hide of their lands, furnished two labourers to work the engines employed in the siege. Camden states from the "*Chronicle of Dunstable*," that the engines employed for destruction, were little less ingenious and effective than those in use in his time. Faukes de Brent felt every confidence in the strength of his castle, and disputed the ground by inches, but after a vigorous resistance of sixty days, no alternative remained but to surrender at discretion. The success of the royal army (the besiegers) was attributed to the use of a lofty wooden tower, higher than the walls, which gave them an opportunity of observing all that passed therein. There were two mangonellæ, a petraria, a cat, to hide the miners and give them free passage to sap the walls. Faukes, himself, was not in the castle when it surrendered; he took sanctuary in a church at Coventry, and through the medium of the Bishop obtained the king's pardon, conditionally that he left the country. His brother William, the governor of the castle, together with twenty-four knights and eighty soldiers were hanged; but Culmo, another brother, received the king's pardon. The king, acting on the determination to uproot this

"nursery of sedition" as Camden styles it, ordered the castle to be dismantled, and the ditches to be filled up.

The Barony was restored to William de Beauchamp, with permission to erect a mansion on the site of the castle, but with careful stipulations to prevent him from construing this into leave to build a fortress.

The King's intentions as to the demolition of the castle do not seem to have been executed to the letter, for the "ruinous castle of Bedford" is mentioned 250 years later, and Camden speaks of its ruins, as existing in his time, overhanging the river on the east side of the town.

When the Cocked Hats saw it, there was not even a stone of the fabric remaining, but the site can be, with great difficulty, traced in the garden of the "Swan Hotel" (Inn). It formed a parallelogram divided by a way or lane, and the site of the keep, is that excellent bowling green which was mentioned yesterday, (page 16).

Proceeding on our walk we made for the George Inn, in the High Street, which is one of the few old hostleries of England remaining, dating back, so it is said, to the time of Henry I., but there is no evidence of the fact; but if Cocked Hats may presume to give a date, temp. Henry III. would be more acceptable, if not true. A portion of the old inn is a fishmonger's and poulterer's; near to this shop is a covered archway behind which is a second, forming an entrance to an interesting building. On each side of the arch are two niches with shields bearing coats of arms, that on the right the ordinary cross of St. George, that on the left (so we were told) the arms of the town, per pale argent, gules a fesse azure; they are so much defaced by long exposure to the air that they may be taken for anything, and that cannot be contradicted.

Over the right hand niche, above the string course of the upper storey, is a lump of wood which would puzzle any person as to what it relates; but the kindly guide, who quitting his fishmonger's shop to point out some salient points of the building, assured us that it represented St. George and the Dragon; so much for imagination.

Over the centre archway is a fine large window, which

like all the other windows are of the Transitional period in architecture; beyond all doubt they are insertions in the older building, the roof and walls being of a much earlier period.

The upper storey is divided into two rooms, with separate entrances, and one large hall over the centre archway, between two small passages.

Of the two rooms, the one on the south side has, at some early times, had the walls ornamented with red and texts, which are illegible. There is no place for a fire, and to what use this chamber was put no person can tell. Our guide suggested that it might have been used as a theatre, or it may have been used by the Ancient Guild of St. George, or by the Justices, and later on, the Magistrates. It is a very fine, handsome, and well-proportioned chamber. The room on the north side is of smaller dimensions and has had a fire-place, and has probably been used as a kitchen.

One of the Cocked Hats inquired if it had ever been a monastery; our guide could not answer that question, but said, that at one time it was the property of the Monastery of Newenham, in the parish of Goldington, a suburb of Bedford town, where the iron works of the Messrs. Howard, Manufacturers of Agricultural Implements, are situated, and which the Cocked Hats saw on their railway journey down on Saturday last. From this we went to the Parish Church of St. Paul, said to stand on the site or ruins of that ancient Monastery, which is mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 970, in which year Askytel, Archbishop of York, died at Thame. His body was brought to Bedanford by his brother Thurkytel, who was Abbot there at that time.

This Thurkytel was the celebrated Chancellor of England to King Æthelstan, the distinguished warrior monk, victor of the Battle of Brunanburh,* A.D. 937, the restorer of Croyland Abbey in 945.

St. Paul's was rebuilt, in the time of King John, on an old foundation, probably that Saxon Church the remains of which were found by Sir Digby Wyatt in taking down the tower in 1864. The present church must have been built in

* Bamborough

the very last years of the sixteenth century. It is a large church with two naves, central tower, short north transept, and two chancels; the north has lately been heightened by the addition of a clerestory, preserving the former roof, and an east window of six lights inserted, where no window had been before. In the south-east corner of the north chancel is a (late Norman) piscina. While the Cocked Hats were looking over the interior of the church, noticing the blocked-up windows of the Early Decorated style, the Rector of the Parish arrived, and introduced himself to the party of Cocked Hats; our good friend Daddy White introduced us by name; on mentioning the Goldsmiths' Company, a Warden of which was one of the party, the Rector replied that he had been one of that Company's Exhibitioners at the University of Oxford, and therefore he had great pleasure in welcoming the Cocked Hats to inspect his church, and that he would be pleased to show them all that it contained. He pointed out that the arcading had been raised to its present height and a clerestory added, of the Late Perpendicular style, and that at some time, the north and south porches were probably added. He pointed out on the pavement, a slab with the indentation of the earliest known brass in England, that of Simon de Beauchamp, who, with his mother, was the founder of Newenham Priory in Goldington Parish, A.D. 1208. Leland says, "Simon de Beauchamp lyeth afore the high alter of St. Paul's Church in Bedeford, with this epitaphie graven in bras and set on a flat marble stone,

' Under this marble lyeth Simon de Beauchamp,
Founder of Newenham.' "

There are some oaken stalls yet remaining. The vicar showed the Cocked Hats the stone pulpit from which John Wesley preached a sermon before the judges of assize, in the year 1758, where this pulpit then stood none can tell, but it is now at the east end of the south aisle. The brass of Sir William Harper (Alderman and Lord Mayor of London in the reign of Queen Elizabeth), and his wife, was formerly in the north chancel, it is now in the south chancel at the east end; it is doubted if he really was buried in this

church, but this much is known as a fact, that his first wife, Dame Alice, was buried in the church of St. Mary Woolnoth, Lombard Street, London, October 15th, 1569, and that Dame Margaret, his second wife, married secondly to Edward Thorne, who died 1582, and that in September, 1583, she married thirdly Edward Maxie, Esquire, of Essex. The inscription on this Bedford brass reads thus :—

Obiit 27^o die Februarii 1573 Anno ætatis suæ 77^o

Here under lieth buried the body of Sir William Harper Knight
Alderman and Late Lorde Maior of the citie of London wth the dame
Margarett his last wife wch
Sir William was borne in this towne of Bedford and here fou'nded and
gave lande
For the mayntenance of a Gramer schoole

He died in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. This school is a free school founded for the instruction of children of the town in grammar and good manners.

This church was originally collegiate and dedicated to St. Paul, and is mentioned in the domesday book under the heading of Canonica de Bedeford; the lordship of Bedford belonged to the church, but at some time between 1070 and 1092, Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln seized on it and unlawfully detained it in his possession. Between the dates 1148 and 1170, the clergy of St. Paul's were Prebends receiving a stipend from the revenues of the church, in consideration of their officiating at stated times. When they were changed into black or regular Canons, it gave them the right to be deemed members of the church, to have stalls therein, and of voting in the Chapter: They were removed to Newenham, in Goldington Parish, by Simon de Beauchamp, in accordance with the wishes of his mother, Roisia, wife of Paganus de Beauchamp, daughter of Alberic de Vere.

Leland says that this change took place from the fact that a homicide had taken place in 1164, by one of the seculars of Bedford, one Philip de Broc, and that it was on this trial that the great dispute arose as to the conflicting jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical and Lay Courts. History repeats itself, that which ecclesiastics were then, so are they now in 1883, setting themselves up in antagonism against the powers that

be, seeking to be that, which they are not, the rulers of the land.

Philip de Broc was deprived of all preferment and banished for five years, and according to Lambard in his *Topographical Dictionary*, this quarrel was the cause of the fatal dispute between King Henry II. and Archbishop Thomas a Becket.*

It was enrolled during the reign of Queen Mary I. as a vicarage in 152 $\frac{8}{9}$, and the Barons of the Exchequer ordained, erected and endowed it, as a perpetual vicarage, and that the

* The king desired to subject the clergy to the authority of the Civil Courts for murder, felony, and similar crimes, and endeavoured in 1164 to get the assent of the Archbishop to the celebrated "Constitutions of Clarendon," Becket refused!! and King Henry took his son from under the Archbishop's care, whereupon Becket solemnly swore that he would never comply. The compliance of the Bishops, the threat of the Nobles, the interference of the Pope, at last compelled him to violate his oath and set his seal to these restrictions. Becket expressed his penitence by retiring from the Court, and privately suspended himself from officiating in the church until he obtained the absolution of His Holiness the Antipope, Paschal III. Becket desired to escape into France; Henry summoned a parliament at Northampton in 1165, and charged him with breaking his allegiance, Becket was sentenced to forfeit all his goods and chattels, but commuted to a fine of £500. On the next morning he was ordered to refund £300 of the rents which he had received as the Warden of Eye and Berkhamsted, and also the £500 he had received from the King before the walls of Toulouse, also to give an account of his receipts from vacant abbeys and bishoprics during his chancellorship; Becket appealed to the Pope in vain, the Bishops deserted, abused, and opposed him. When all went against him, Becket escaped from Northampton by night and after lurking some time on the coast, embarked at Sandwich in Kent, November 10th, 1164, and reached Gravelines.

He lived for two years at Pontigny in France, and then returned to England. He was afterwards murdered in the Cathedral of Canterbury by Reginald Fitzurse, William de Tracy, Hugh de Morville, and Richard le Brito. They met at Castle Saltwood, the property of Ranulp de Broc, on the 28th December, 1170. On the evening of the 29th, at vespers, the Knights entered the Cathedral; the monks fled! Robert de Merton, his old tutor, William Fitz-Stephen, his chaplain, and Edward Grim, a Saxon monk, were the only persons who remained with him. Fitzurse called out:—"Where is the Archbishop?" They attempted to drag him out of the church, but Becket resisted; he collared De Tracy, and threw him down on the pavement; Fitzurse knocked the mitre off his head with a sword; De Tracy aimed a blow at him, which simply wounded him, but broke the arm of his cross bearer Edward Grim, whereupon the blows of the other assassins clove his skull in twain; Hugh de Hersea, the Chaplain to Robert de Broc, who was with the Knights, thrust his sword into the wound made by Richard le Brito, and scattered his brains on the pavement.

vicar be presented to the barons to be admitted and instituted by us, and that the vicar be inducted by the Archdeacon of Bedford. The length of the church is 148 feet, and the width of the two aisles 45 feet. In the centre of the north aisle is an incised slab of stone bearing the following inscription :—

✠ MURIEL : CALT : GYT : ISSI : DESAADLME : DEVS . EYEYT :
 MERCY : KY : PORLEALME : PRIERA : XL : IOVRS : DE
 PARDVN : AVERA

The Mayor's and Corporation seats are in the south transept.

The tower contains a ring of eight bells, seven cast in 1744, and the treble recast in 1868. The ringers of St. Michael, Cornhill, London, came to Bedford in April, 1745, to inaugurate the peal. During the mayoralty of Mr. T. G. E. Elger, 1873, a scheme was completed so that the bells were made to chime by a machine which was made by Messrs. Gilletts & Co., of Croydon, and chimed for the first time, January 1st, 1880, but owing to the lack of public spirit on the part of the inhabitants, the expense of keeping the apparatus in repair has not been defrayed, so during the stay of the Cocked Hats at Bedford, they never heard the chimes.

Sir William Harper conveyed to the corporation of Bedford, thirteen acres of land in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, (in London) for the support of a school, and for portioning poor maidens of the town, the overplus, if any, to be given in alms to the poor.

The land has for years been let on building leases; Lambs Conduit Street, Harper Street, Theobalds Road, Bedford Street, Bedford Row, North Street, East Street, Green Street, Bedford Court, Prince's Street, Queen Street, Eagle Street, Boswell Court, Richbell Court, Hand Court, Gray's Inn Passage, and Three Cups Yard have been built upon the estate. The property has risen in value from the original £150 to £135,000, which was about its value in 1833. Since that time the property has so far increased, that it required the interposition of the Parliament to regulate its distribution. Since that time up to the present, 1883, it has by the falling in of leases and improved rents, greatly increased if not quadrupled the £135,000. The schools are managed under a

Scheme prepared by the Education Commissioners approved by the Charity Commissioners.

Under letters patent, granted on the 15th August, 1552, by King Edward VI., licence was given to the mayor, bailiffs, burgesses and commonalty of Bedford, to establish a free and perpetual Grammar School, and for the warden of New College, Oxford, and the fellows thereof to elect a master and usher for the continuance of the school for ever; for the marriage of forty poor maidens of the town, for the nourishing and educating poor children and apprenticing forty poor children annually, and for distributing in alms, the residue and surplus of the proceeds to the poor of the town. The first school house was built by Sir William Harper himself, on land of his own in Bedford. The first master who was appointed was Edmond Grene, and his first usher was Robert Elbone. The School is situated near St. Paul's Church, and over its doors is a statue to the founder, carved in marble, in the habiliments of an Alderman of London. Beneath it is this inscription:—

Behold Traveller the Bodily Resemblance

Of Sir William Harper, Knight,

Of this School;

Thus spacious and adorned;

The munificent founder; the picture of his mind

Is delineated in the Table of Benefactions.

Leaving the Schools, the lads not having finished their studies, the Cocked Hats made for all that remains of Newenham Priory on the eastern side of the borough in the parish of Goldington; it was founded by Samuel de Beauchamp. In the reign of Henry II. it was a priory of canons, regular of the Order of St. Augustin, and all the canons secular or black canons from St. Paul's Bedford, where they had been fixed; before the time of the Conquest it was dedicated to St. Paul.

On the 3rd of October, 1534, John Ayschewelle, prior, Thomas de Bydenham, John de Ramser, and Gilbert Eaton, subscribed to the King's supremacy, and in 1539 the monastery was surrendered to the King's visitors by John Bourne the last prior.

CALDWELL PRIORY.

Thence they walked to see if any portion of Caldwell existed, but not a vestige of it other than it gives its name to Caldwell Street, between which and the river the old priory existed.

It was founded about the year 1200 by one Simon de Barescot, or Basket, an Alderman of the town. It was dedicated to St. Mary, and founded for the Brethren of the Holy Sepulchre,* which Order entirely failed, and their priory was taken over by some of the Augustinian Canons from Newenham. The site is the manufactory of the agricultural implements of the Messrs. Howard. When digging out some gravel, in 1864, the foundations of the old chapel and a flooring of encaustic tiles were found, and beneath, three stone coffins were discovered.

The seal of the priory of Newenham is very handsome, and an impression of it is in the library of the town. On the obverse is St. Paul, seated with his sword, having on each side of him several figures seated, and in chief two angels. The legend is, SIGILLVM . PRIORIS . ET . CONVENTVS . SCI . PAVLI . DE . NEWENHAM. Of the priory not a vestige remains other than a part of an old wall. Prior John Bourne had a pension of £60 per annum. In digging out the earth for the foundations of their works, many, and some curiously wrought, keys of large size were found.

The last officers of the monastery were Thomas Dey, Prior Thomas Killingworth, Sub-Prior William Lecestre, William Repton, and Oliver London, who, on the 8th October, 1534, subscribed to the King's supremacy. It was in Caldwell Street that the writer bought at a broker's shop a very fine old edition of the Homilies.†

* Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre were instituted in the early part of the twelfth century, in imitation of the Regulars instituted in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre of our SAVIOUR at Jerusalem. Their first House was at Warwick, founded by Henry de Newburgh Earl of Warwick, who dying in the year 1123, it was finished building by his son Roger. After the fall of the City of Jerusalem, in 1188, this Order fell into decay, and their reveuues and privileges were given to the Austin Friars.

† Homilies from the Greek *ὁμιλία* a sermon. *διατριβή* a discourse. The Homilies of the Church of England were composed at the time of the

Retracing their steps, the Cocked Hats made their way to Priory Street, where the Grey Friars, or Friars Minor, or Franciscans, had their priory, which was founded about 1300 by Mabel Pateshull, the Lady of Bletsoe. There are considerable remains about the street, used as dwelling houses, and a large barn with buttresses and pointed windows (now blocked up) which is said to have been the refectory. The foundress was buried under an arched tomb on the south side of the high altar, and several other individuals of distinction, amongst them "Quene Elenor," with her image of plaine plate of brass encrowned; also Sir Ralph Irencester who, it has been said, built the nave of the church.

It was Quene Elenor, (Alianor), the second wife of Almeric de St. Amaud or St. Maur, who ordered her body to be buried near to her husband "in the Quier of the Friars Preachers in Bedford, 1467?"* but her will is dated 15th May, 1426, and on the 24th May she died, and the Quier of the Friars Preachers, wherein she desired to be buried, was in Oxford and not Bedford.

John Vyal was the Prior who on the 6th May, 1534, subscribed to the King's supremacy.

St. Mary's Church consists of a nave, north and south aisles, and a chancel; there is a north doorway having a pointed arch, in one spandrel of which is a shield with two keys upon it in saltire, and in the other a quatre foil with a rose in the centre; in the vestry is a Communion cup, 1570, with a fleur-de-lis stamped upon it, probably the maker's mark. The tower is ancient, and stands on arches between the nave and chancel. It has a ring of six bells with the following inscriptions:—

Reformation, and were to be read in churches when there was no sermon. The first volume dates from 1547, King Edward VI's reign, and is said to have been composed by Archbishop Cranmer, Bishops Ridley and Latimer.

Cranmer wrote on "Salvation," on "Faith," on "Good Works," on "The Fear of Death," on "Reading the Scriptures,". Latimer wrote on "Brawling," on "Contention;" and Thomas Bacon, Cranmer's Chaplain, wrote on "Adultery." It was reprinted in 1560.

The second volume appeared in 1560, in the reign of Elizabeth. Bishop Jewell had a great share in its composition.

* Test. Vetusta, p. 211.

1. John Eayre, St. Neots, 1748. J. A. Church, Bromsall, C.W.

2 and 5. Richard Chandler made me, 1682.

3. Newcombe, of Leicester, made me, 1604.

4. Shields with arms, &c.

6. ABCDE FGHIK LMNO 1609.

Priest's Bell :—1750.

Bell No. 4 is supposed to be pre-reformation.

The bridge across the Ouse River is modern, and was opened for traffic November, 1813. There was a bridge long prior to this, the present one, which in ages gone by was of great local importance. It had two arches at the St. Paul's end; two gate houses in the centre, having upper chambers; three arches at the south or St. Mary's end, and from one of the gate houses was an entrance to the small Island in the River. There was a chain which was put across it every night at ten and kept locked until five in the morning. There was a prison upon the bridge which belonged to the borough, distinct from the county jail.

ST. ALBANS.

Time was rapidly passing, and the Cocked Hats had to make their way to St. Albans, which was easily reached by train, then made their way to the Pea-hen Hotel, to get some victuals, for since early morning nothing had passed their lips, then off to see the Abbey which has been so altered that the builder, if he could see it, would certainly not recognise his work. It represents to the writer, the Irishman's gun, which he admired so much, because it had belonged to his grandfather; it had had a new stock, cock, lock, and barrel, but it had belonged to his father and grandfather.

The abbey of St. Alban's is so altered that casual visitors would not know it; it has now a high pitched roof, which in days gone by never existed, for every tyro in architecture knows that there were no high roofs in those days, there was a weather heading on the tower, but these present iconoclasts have mistaken the weather heading for the remains of a roof, so that the flat roof that we have gazed upon for years has given place to a monstrosity for which there is no example.

When the Archæological Society were visiting the city, the roadway passed between the Church and the Lady Chapel, which latter was used as a schoolroom. Since then it has been incorporated in the Abbey Church. It was erected by Abbot Hugh de Evesden 1308-26, in the reign of Edward II. and it remained as such for over 300 years until the year 1869, when the Abbey Gate House was purchased and appropriated for the School.

ST. ALBANS' CHURCH.

This Abbey was purchased of King Edward VI., by the inhabitants of the town of St. Albans for their Parish Church, at the price of £400, and a fee farm rent of £10 per annum, but in the year 1684, this was redeemed by a payment of £200.

Upon the seizure of the religious houses the Abbey was granted by King Henry VIII. to Sir Richard Lee. In 1556, the deposed Abbot, Richard Boreman, or de Stevenage, who in 1539 surrendered all the rights and privileges of his Abbey to the King, purchased the site of the late Monastery from its then owner, Sir Richard Lee, and transferred it to Queen Mary—the unconcealed purpose being, the restoration of the Monastery to its old and former use. This wicked Queen, on the 26th August, 1555, caused George Tankerville to be burned for heresy in the meadow near the western end of the Abbey. Luckily the Queen passed away, and was succeeded by the stately Elizabeth, and for a time the unwholesome dream was dissipated.

Alban was an eminent citizen of Verulam, who gave shelter to a Christian priest, his tutor, named Amphibalus, who refused to offer sacrifices to idols, and for which good act Alban was ordered (during the persecutions in the reign of Diocletian) to be beheaded. He was led to the place of execution—a wooded height, named Holmhurst, on the offside of the river Ver, the 22nd of June, 303.

Camden states from an ancient history of St. Albans that at that period the enmity of the inhabitants of Verulam to the Gospel was so great, that, as a disgrace to Albanus' memory, and as a terror to other Christians, they had the

story of his murder inscribed upon a slab of marble and inserted in the city walls:—

“In hujus opprobrium et Christianorum terrorem,
ut in antiquo ejus agone habetur, Verolamienses
ejus martyrium marmori inscripserunt mœnibus que
inseruerunt.”

Twenty years after a church was raised on the spot in honour of the first martyr; a century after, the place of sepulture was forgotten.

“The Pelagian heresy having occasioned great dissensions among the Christians early in the fifth century, Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, came to Britain for the avowed purpose of restraining its progress. During their stay in the Island, a synod was held at Verulam, in the year 429. Germanus was distinguished for the success of his exhortations, and a chapel was afterwards erected to his honour, just without the walls of the city, and was called St. Germanus.”—BEDE *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. I., c. 18.

“Juxta prostratæ Urbis mœnia, Germani sacellum etiamnum nomine, etsi profano usu, superest; quo loci ille, pro suggestu verbum divinum effatus erat; ut antiquæ fani Albani membranatæ testantur.”—CAMDEN.

Five centuries after, Offa, King of the Mercians, who held the kingdom of Essex in subjection, together with Humbert, Archbishop of Lichfield, and Umbona, Bishop of Leicester and Lindsay, followed up the hill where it was said that Alban had been beheaded. On this site Offa built a church, dedicated to Saint Alban, and adjoining it erected a Monastery with suitable buildings for an Abbot, and one hundred monks of the Order of St. Benedict, endowing the Abbey with a princely revenue, “that great hospitality might be kept there because the highway called Watling Street, or ‘Werlaem,’ lay near through which men continually travelled from Londinum to the North and back again, and hence the name of the town was called Wirlamceaster or Watlingceaster, and in course of time was called after the name of the Church and Monastery, St. Albans.”

It has been said that Ulsinus, or Ulsig, the sixth Abbot may be regarded as the founder of the town of St. Albans

for in the year A.D. 948, he built three churches on the three principal roads leading to the Church and Monastery, laid out a place for a market and supplied the people of the neighbourhood with money to build, he having obtained from King Ethelred in A.D. 950, a confirmation of all former grants to the Monastery, and a Charter for the market.

The Abbey Church is built in the form of a cross, it is in length rather more than 556 feet, which includes the Lady Chapel at the East end, and the extreme breadth is more than 176 feet at the intersection of the transepts; from the intersection rises a square tower, divided by bands into three stages crowned by battlements, and a spire, both of later date than the tower, which is one of the most perfect parts of the building.

The interior of the Abbey is scarcely worth a visit; it has been pulled about terribly, so that the style of every age may be traced from the Norman round arch and pillar to the pointed arch and clustered shafting and the fanciful decorations of Victorian period. The Cocked Hats looked for a wooden tablet in the nave, which was put up to the memory of Sir John Mandeville, a great traveller, who lived in the reign of Edward 1st—14th century, but could not find it. He was born at St. Albans about 1300, and it has been said that he was buried here:—

“Lo in this Inn of Travellers, doth he

“One rich in nothing but a memory,

“His name was Sir John Mandeville.”

&c.,

&c.,

&c.

He was descended from a noble family, and was given a good education, he studied mathematics, theology, and medicine; he left England in 1327, passed through France to Palestine, where he joined the army of the Infidels. He afterwards served in Egypt under the Sultan, and in Southern China under the King of Cathay. He lived three years in Pekin, then called Cambalu. After an absence of thirty three years, he, travelling through Asia, returned to England, but died at Liege, and was buried the next day, 17 Nov., 1372. Weever, who wrote in 1631, says that he was buried

at Liege, in Belgium, and that he saw his tomb there in the Church of the Guillaumites, bearing date, 16 Nov., 1371.

On the pavement of the Presbytery is a stone inscribed :—

S. Albanus
Verolamensis
Anglorum
Proto-Martyr
xvii Junii
C.C. XCVII.

This date must be the time when the stone was placed, between the screen and the eastern end of the Church.

In one of the windows (if not taken out by the so-called Restorers), was a representation of the martyrdom of St. Alban in painted glass, only a few fragments of which remain. On the wall below was the following inscription now defaced :—

“ The image of our frailty, painted glass !
“ Shews where the life and death of Alban was,
“ A Knight beheads the Martyr ; but so soon,
“ His eyes dropt out to see what he had done ;
“ And leaving their own head, seem’d with a tear
“ To wail the other head laid mangled there ;
“ Because, before, his eyes no tears would shed.
“ His eyes themselves like tears fall from his head ;
“ Oh ! Bloody fact, that whilst St. Alban dies,
“ The Murderer himself weeps out his eyes.
“ In zeal to Heaven, where holy Alban’s bones
“ Were buried, Offa rais’d this heap of Stones ;
“ Which, after by devouring Time abused,
“ Into the dying parts had life infused ;
“ By James the First, of England to become
“ The Glory of Alban’s Proto-martyrdom.”

CHAUNCY’S *Herts*, p. 472.

This alludes to some repairs which the church underwent in the time of James, and which by the grossest flattery were thus attributed to that King. The ceilings of the nave,

transepts and choir are of wood formed into square compartments and painted.

The northern part of the transept is embellished with the addition of a painting (in the centre) of the martyrdom of St. Alban ; there is also a representation of Offa on a throne over an arch in the north aisle. The ceiled roof of the choir is highly embellished, it exhibits in alternate compartments, the holy Lamb on a mount vert with a banner of the Cross Gules, ensigned with a cross batone or charged with the Star of Bethlehem and the Eagle of St. John on a mount vert, together with shields of Arms of the nobility and gentry who contributed towards the repairing of the church, about the year 1623. Over the eastern front of the great arch of the tower were these lines, doubtless in allusion to Abbot John de Wheathamstead :—

“ Sic ubicunq, vides sic pictus ut Agnus et Ales

“ Effigies operis Sexti Patris ista Johannis

“ Esse vel in toto juvisse vel infaciendo

“ Est opus hoc unum causavit eum faciendum.”

These lines are attributed to Abbot de Wheathamstead. Who, has not heard of dining with Duke Humphrey, of Gloucester ? it is patent to all, who have but little or nothing to eat. He was not buried in St. Paul's Cathedral in London, as commonly supposed, but he was buried here, in a grand canopied tomb of two storeys. His body was discovered in a vault in the year 1703, lying in a pickle or some fluid of that kind in a leaden coffin, enclosed by another of wood, and the following inscription was written to his memory, according to Sandford by Dr. Westerman, the parson of Sandridge and Bushey :—

Piæ Memorix V Opt.

Sacrum

Serotinum

Hic jacet *Humphredus*, Dux ille *Glocestrius* olim

Henrici Sexti Protector, fraudis ineptæ

Detector, dum ficta notat miracula cæci *

* He detected a Cheat who pretended to having been restored to sight at St. Alban's Shrine.

Lumen erat Patriæ. Columen venerabile Regni
 Pacis Amans Musicq favens melioribus unde.
 Gratum opus *Oxonio*, quæ nunc Scola sacra refulget*
 Invida sed mulier Regno, Regi, sibi nequam
 Abstulit hunc humili, vix hoc dignata sepulchro :
 Invidiu rumpente tamen, post Funera vivat
 Deo Gloria.

He has been called the Good Duke of Gloucester, but why, no person can tell. The cost of the tomb was about £434 6s. 8d.

The body of the Duke was discovered in 1703. The tomb being open to the coffin, bone after bone has been purloined by the curious, so that very little of the skeleton remains. He was Protector of the Realm and Church of England; he was created Earl of Pembroke and Duke of Gloucester 1414, and died 1446.

VERULAM.

Having well considered and inspected the Venerable (?) Abbey for as long a time as the Cocked Hats had at their disposal, they passed through a wicket gate at the south-western angle of the churchyard, and proceeded down the hill, passed by a silk mill on the one side and a public house, wherein is a disused cock-pit, on the other, to the river Ver; then across a meadow to the remains of the walls of the ancient Municipium, Verulanium.

“Ubicunque vicit, Romanus habitat,”

Seneca Consol, ad Helvium, c. 7.

hence the rise and building of Verulam. Of this colonization it is written in Eutropius “Ex toto orbe Romano infinitas eo copias hominum transtulerat ad agros et urbes colendas.” “The Roman proprietor and the British colonus (husbandman) lived amicably on the soil, for although the Roman was severed from his country, yet he brought with him all that civilisation which was the inheritance of Italy. In fine his Roman citizenship and his municipal obligations, attached themselves as closely to him in cloudy Britain, as under the more favoured skies of Southern Italy.”—COOTE’S *Romans in Britain*, page 132.

* He erected the Divinity School at Oxford.

The Roman, as a settler, introduced to Britain the whole body of Roman law, public and private. This law, personal to himself, was carried by him into every new country of the "Orbis Romanus," thus the ruling of the law in Britain was the ruling of the law at Rome, as well understood and enunciated at Eboracum (York) or Verulam as at Rome itself; each municipium had præsedes, and to each præses was assigned a council of legal assessors who should find all the learning requisite for the daily dispensation of justice.

Only one exception to this rule has been known; it occurred during the last and worst persecution of the Emperor Diocletian, who desired that the laws should be violated and badly administered in order to secure convictions against the Christians. He sent into the provinces as præsedes uneducated military men without assessors. "*Judices militares humanitatis et literarum rudes, sine, adessoribus in provincias immissi,*" * And by such means was the death of St. Alban secured.

In the year A.D. 304 the Emperor Diocletian and Maximian resigned the purple at Rome. Maximus, a Spaniard, who had served with great distinction in Britain, raised the standard of revolt A.D. 381. Levying a large force in the island he crossed the Channel into Gaul; met the Emperor Gratian, near Lyons, where the latter was defeated, and seized by the partizans of Maximus, was put to death at the age of twenty-four. Maximus was at length defeated by Theodosius. The Britons who had followed Maximus into Gaul received from him the possession of Armorica, where they laid the foundation of a State, which still (1890) retains their name, Bretagne or Brittany, and their language, which is so nearly allied to the Cornish or Welsh that a traveller who cannot speak French if he can talk in Welsh, will be greatly aided.

Flavius Stilicho, a Vandal, was one of the most eminent Romans who served in Britain in the degenerate age in which he lived (A.D. 403), but the time and particulars of his service are not known other than in some panegyrical verses of "Claudian." Stilicho was murdered August 23rd, A.D. 408. After the departure of Stilicho Britain was again attacked by

* *De Mortibus persecutorum*, c. 22.

barbarians. Agitated by the licentiousness of the Roman soldiery, they set up three claimants to the imperial throne. The two first were soon dethroned and destroyed by the very power, which had raised them, and the province of Britain was included in the dominions of Constantine Chlorus, one of their successors. He died at York, A.D. 307, and was succeeded by his son Constantinus (the Great) Flavius Valerius. In 367 Valentinian sent Theodosius to Britain, who drove back the Northern Hordes from attacking Augusta (London).

Constantine raised a force among the youth of the island, and passed over into Gaul (A.D. 409); acquired possession of that province and Spain, and fixed the seat of his government at Arles,* where he was soon after besieged, taken and killed. His expedition served to exhaust Britain of its natural defenders; and the distresses of the empire rendered the withdrawal of the Roman troops necessary.

The Roman power in Britain was fast decaying, and the provinces were no longer secure against the savage tribes of Picts and Scots, who burst in from the north while the Saxons infested the coast; and about the year A.D. 420, the middle of the fifth century, the Romans abandoned the island, about 500 years after the first invasion of Julius Cæsar, August 25th, B.C. 55.

In the war of desolation, which accompanied the descent of the bibulous Saxons, the Municipium of Verulam was an early sufferer of subjugation and ruin, but was recovered by the Britons under Uter Pendragon, who, having been wounded in a great battle, was, according to Brampton, cured of his wounds by resorting to a salubrious spring or healing well, a short distance from the city walls. The Saxons recovering possession, murdered the inhabitants and reduced the buildings to a mass of ruins, and for two centuries after, its name is not mentioned in history, but they built a new town on the hill on the north side of the river.

The derivation of the name Verulam has never been

* The oldest Roman city in Gaul through which ran the Via Aurelia, it extended from Rome to Cadiz; Antonius speaks of it as "*Gallula Roma Arelas*." "*Perquem Romani Commercia suscipit Orbis*."

properly solved; that its situation on the River Ver had some share in its etymology, is beyond a doubt. The Saxons called it Watlinga, Werlamcestre and Watlingceastre. The great extent of the area surrounded by the ruined walls, the immense embankments called the Verulam Hills, with the deep ditches, and the innumerable Roman coins, antiquities and other remains of Roman occupation that have been dug up here, fully testify to the former grandeur and magnificence of the city. When the Romans became possessed of the place—Verulanium as they called it—they enlarged its boundaries; they did not confine its exterior form to that generally adopted in their tactics, the rectangular, but modified it to the nature of the ground—

“Prout loci qualitas aut necessitas postulaverit.”—
Vergetius, Lib. 1, c. 23.

they made their Municipium in the figure of an irregular elipsis.

Some considerable masses of the walls yet remain and prove the excellence of Roman masonry. The walls were about twelve feet thick, composed of layers of flint, embedded in a strong cement of lime small gravel and coarse sand, strengthened at intervals of about three feet by rows of large Roman tiles, two or three in a row. These tiles measure from sixteen to eighteen inches in length, and about eleven to thirteen inches in breadth, of a very compact texture, and so adhesive is the cement in which they are set and which binds them together, that it is almost impossible to remove one of them from the wall, in a perfect state. The highest ground is on the south and west sides; the whole has a gradual descent towards the east, where the River Ver now flows in a regular channel, about a hundred or so yards from the line of the wall which at that time formed a great pool some twenty acres, which is now included in the lower part of the present St. Albans, called Fishpool Street, which connects the high North West Road and intersects the area of Verulam from St. Michael's Bridge, to the massive fragment of the wall called Gorham Block.

Numerous antiques have been found here, notably an urn, in 1719, seventeen inches high and six feet four inches in circumference, with other Roman remains, a short distance between the walls and the river; a small lachry-matory, with eleven others, set round the urn; also a large, long jar ending in a point, a wine pot, with several smaller vessels, coins, and pateræ, engraved in Gough's "Camden," vol. i. plate xvii. pages 341 and 347; also a small and elegant Roman vase of black earthenware, which was exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries; also under the rule of Eadmen, ninth Abbot sundry glass and earthen vessels, used as pitchers, cups, and bottles, containing human remains, which had been burned (cremated).

St. Michael's Church, which stands at the end of the town within the walls of ancient Verulam, was the next object sought for. Report says that it was founded about the middle of the 11th century by Abbot Ulsinus, and displays its Saxon origin; but the Cocked Hats (no mean authorities) attribute to it the title of a Basilica, a remnant of the Hall of Justice, of the Roman period, now transformed into a church.

Here is the monument of Sir Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam and Viscount St. Albans, who, together with his mother, the wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon, are buried in this church.* This astute philosopher and statesman is represented by a finely-sculptured alabaster statue in a niche on the north side of the chancel. He is represented as sitting in a contemplative posture in an elbow chair, and beneath him is the following elegant epitaph, by the accomplished Sir Henry Wotton:—

FRANCIS BACON, BARO DE VERULAM, ST. ALBANI, VICMES
 Seu, notioribus titulis,
 Scientiarum lumen fecundiae lex
 Sic sedebat—

* Extract from Lord Bacon's last will:—"For my burial I desire that it may be in St. Michael's Church, near St. Albans: there was my mother buried; and it is the Parish Church of my Mansion House at Gorhambury, as it is the only Christian Church within the walls of old Verulam."

Qui postquam omnia naturalis sapientiæ
 Et civilis arcana evolvisset,
 Naturæ decretum explevit
 Composita Solvantur
 An^o Dni. M.D.C. XXVI.
 Ætat LXVI.
 Tanti viri
 Mem.

Thomas Meautys
 Superstitis cultor
 Defuncti Admirator
 H. P.

In the "Biographia Britannica" this epitaph has been translated thus :—

FRANCIS BACON,
 BARON OF VERULAM, VISCOUNT ST. ALBANS,
Or by more conspicuous Titles
Of Science the Light, of Eloquence the Law
Sat thus
Who after all the natural Wisdom
And Secrets of Civil Life he had unfolded,
Nature's Law fulfilled
Let Compounds be dissolved
In the year of our Lord 1626, of his age 66
Of such a man that the memory might remain
Thomas Meautys
Living his Attendant; Dead his Admirer
Placed this Monument.

Sir Thomas Meautys*, who erected this monument, was his Private Secretary, and continued faithful to him through all his troubles, and on the death of his master inherited his possessions, as cousin and next heir.

Sir Thomas Meautys is interred in this church. There is an imperfect inscription on a stone of the pavement, partly concealed by a seat near to the railings round the Communion

* Lord Bacon, writing to Sir Henry Wotton, spells his name Mewtus, and in Wotton's reply to Lord Bacon his name is spelt Meawtis.—"Reliquæ Wottonianæ," pp. 297 & 8.

Table, the rest having been chipped away, but it reads thus :—

H T-E BODY OF S^R
MEAUTYS K^R

On the decease of Sir Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans, Lord High Chancellor of England in 1626, Sir Thomas Meautys, Knt., his cousin, inherited the house and property of Gorhambury ; he married Anne, daughter of Sir Nathaniel Bacon, of Culford Hall, Ingham, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, half brother to Sir Francis Bacon.

The Cocked Hats then made their way to all the remains of Sopwell Nunnery. It occupied a considerable space of ground, half a mile south-east of the Abbey, but no plan of the buildings nor their appropriation can be traced. The inmates were to be unmarried women (Virgins), to follow the rule of St. Benedict, and not to exceed thirteen in number. It was founded by Geoffrey de Gorham, sixteenth Abbot of St. Albans, A.D. 1140.

At the dissolution of this house King Henry VIII. granted the site and buildings to Sir Richard Lee, the same who had obtained the grant of the lands lying contiguous to the Abbey. Sir Richard was a soldier, and had fought in the wars on the Continent. He married a very handsome lady—a Miss Greenfield—who was a great favourite with Henry VIII. and at her solicitations the King gave the demesne of Sopwell to her husband, who enlarged the buildings and altered the house for his own residence. The grounds were enclosed by a wall and converted into a park. The ruins of the house, are fragments of flint and brick ; the windows, says Brayley, (writing an hundred years ago), were square and large, with stone frames. The gardens are now orchards, and in the wall over the door, opening out to the principal one, is a square stone tablet, sculptured with the crest of Sir Richard Lee, a dexter arm gauntlet and hand embowed holding the hilt of a broken sword. This was granted to him in 1544.

There is an out-building, now used as a barn, said to be a part of the Nunnery, which the Cocked Hats did not believe.

It has been stated that King Henry VIII. was married to Ann Boleyn in the chapel of this quondam Nunnery

25th January, 1533 (by others that he was married 14th November, 1532), by Dr. Rowland Lee, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield, who performed the ceremony "much about Paul's Day." *

The Cocked Hats then made their way to Fishpool, where the Ver flows in a regular channel from one to two hundred yards beyond the line of the wall of Verulam, where it formed a great pool, covering about twenty acres of land, including that which is now the lower part of the town of St. Albans.

This great fish-pool belonged to the Crown, and was productive of much loss to the Abbey of St. Albans by the company it attracted, during the festivities displayed here by the Saxon Sovereigns, who had a palace called Kingsbury on the banks near to St. Michael's Bridge. The pool was purchased of King Edgar 959-975, by the Abbot Ulsinus; the embankment which held the waters was then cut away, and only a small pool was suffered to remain for the use of the Abbey.

The Cocked Hats then made their way for the Great Gate House, a gloomy building, which formed the chief entrance to the Abbey precincts. It was built in the reign of Richard II. It was formerly used as the prison of the Monastery, and later on as the prison of the Liberty. Leaving this they went to the Church of St. Peter, at the north-eastern part of the town, founded by Abbot Ulsinus, but rebuilt about the time of Henry III., it has undergone great alterations since that year; £4,000 was expended on it about twenty years ago. The present tower is of brick stuccoed, and about seventy feet high. The stained glass has been removed, so also the brasses, or if they remain the Cocked Hats had not time (prior to meeting the train, which, like Time and Tide, waits for no man) to look for them; but that which attracted their notice was a monument against the wall, which displays the bust of EDWARD STRONG, of New Barns, in this parish, Citizen and Mason of London:—

* This date is established by a letter from Archbishop Cranmer in the British Museum, quoted by Bishop Burnet, printed in Ellis's letters, first series, p. 34. Hall, Holinshed, and Speed say that the marriage took place on St. Erkenwald's Day, 14th November, 1532.

" Who, equally with its ingenious Architect,
 " Sir Christopher Wren,
 " And its truly pious diocesan,
 " Bishop Compton,
 " Shared the felicity of seeing both the
 " Beginning and the finishing
 " Of that stupendous fabric,
 " The Cathedral Church of St. Paul
 " (to the laying of the last stone),
 " About which he was employed as Mason.
 " He died at the age of Seventy-one in
 " February, 1723."

Leaving this church the Cocked Hats repaired to the "Pea-Hen" Inn, where dinner had been ordered. They waited long for it, notwithstanding that it was bespoken before one o'clock p.m. and the hour was now seven p.m. So while waiting they started off to see the Marlborough Almshouses, locally called the "Buildings." Each house contains four rooms, and a detached garden.

Sarah, Dowager Duchess of Marlborough, in the year 1735, purchased of the heirs of the Robotham family the Manor of Newland Squillers, within the parish of St. Peter's; the Manor House stood at the extremity of the borough by the side of the road leading to Hatfield. The house, long abandoned by the family, was let for a Boys' Boarding School, and had a high reputation amongst the Dissenters. Here the celebrated Dr. Doddridge, Dr. Aikin, and other ministers received the rudiments of their education.

The Duchess pulled down the house, and built the present Almshouses on the site. She endowed it by deed, enrolled in Chancery, dated 2nd June, 1736, with an estate at Crowhurst, in Sussex, and other places in Surrey, Sussex, and Kent, late the property of Edward Gibbon,* one of the Directors of the South Sea Company; also other estates at Marston Jabbett, in the County of Warwick, late the property of Robert Surman, Deputy Cashier of the same company. These were conveyed to Daniel, Earl of Winchelsea and

* Grandfather of Gibbon, the historian, who wrote "The Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire."

Nottingham, the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Reeve, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and others, in trust for the maintenance of thirty-six poor persons, equally, male and female, subject to the sole management of the said Duchess, for her life, and after her decease to the person who shall be in possession of her estate in the adjoining parish of Sandridge, Herts. The present Earl Spencer, her great great grandson, is in possession.

She also directs that £20 per annum be paid to the Rector of the Abbey Church, or to the Vicar of the Parish Church of St. Peter for the time being, for overlooking the poor that shall be placed in the said Almshouse.

The Cocked Hats were informed that a Grammar School was founded under a Charter of Incorporation, granted to the borough by King Edward VI.

Queen Elizabeth, by letters patent, dated at Gorhambury March 24th, 1570, in the twelfth year of her reign, empowered the Mayor and Burgesses, for the better support of the school, to grant two licenses to any persons they should think fit within the borough, permitting them to sell all sorts of wine, by any measures and at any price, to the exclusion of all others, provided that the annual salary of £20 be paid to the master of the said school by the Mayor and Burgesses of the borough.

Another licence was granted by James I. to augment the stipend of the master of the school by the sum of four marks, and at the same time the Mayor and Burgesses were privileged to seize any wine kept for sale, contrary to the grant, in any places within the borough, or a distance of two miles therefrom. These licenses were let by auction for three years, from Christmas, 1803, for the benefit of the Grammar master, at £16 per annum each, to the keepers of the "White Hart," the "Woolpack," and the "Pea-Hen" Inns, and over the door of the school is this inscription:—

"Schola S^{ti}. Albani

"Quæ Divæ MARLÆ jampridem nomine dicta est

"Literulis celebrem fecit ELISA domum.

"Quid vetat ingenuas pietate jungier artes?

"Hinc, illinc veræ est religionis honos."

The Presbyterians have also a school in the town, so also the Quakers, the Independents, and the Baptists.

The Cocked Hats did not visit the Pemberton's Alms-houses or the other charitable institutions of the town, but they returned to the "Pea-Hen" Inn to their dinner, and it was the worst, that could be put before any person. The shoulder of lamb was uncooked, nay, raw; so a glass of * (what shall it be called) ale and a bit of cheese was all that they got for three and sixpence a head.

The Charter by which the borough was incorporated was granted by Edward VI. in the year 1553. It establishes a mayor, four aldermen, and ten capital burgesses, who are empowered to make other burgesses at their discretion, a steward, a chamberlain, town clerk, and two sergeants-at-mace.

St. Alban's has been the scene of two great battles; the first of which was fought on the 23rd May, 1455, between King Henry VI., with an army of about 2000 men, and the Duke of York with the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury who had some 3000 hardy retainers. The Duke of York's men encamped on the east side of the town in the Key field. The King occupied the town itself, and fixed his standard at a spot called Goselow in St. Peter's Street. The battle was sharp, short and sanguinary, and the Royal Lancastrian Army defeated with a loss of 800 men. The King was wounded in the neck by an arrow and deserted by his followers, sought refuge in a ruined cottage, the property of a tanner, where he was discovered by the Duke of York and the Earl of Warwick who led him a prisoner to the Abbey. Among those of his party who were slain were John Seymour, Edmund Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, Earls Stafford, Henry Percy Northumberland, Lord High Constable of England; John, Lord Clifford died *s.p.*† Robert Vere, Bertin Entwysel, William Chamberlain, Richard Fortescue and Ralph Ferrers, all knights.

* Oh! that the Mayor and Burgesses were privileged in the year 18— to seize any wine kept for sale under the letters patent of Elizabeth, March 24th, 1570.

† Beaufort, Percy, and Clifford were buried in the Chapel of the Virgin in the Abbey, "in lineali ordine, juxta statum, gradum et honorem dignitatis."

The Yorkists under the Duke of York and Earl Warwick lost about 600 men, but no name of any person of distinction is recorded to have fallen on this side ; the slain were interred at St. Peter's ; the dead nobles, through the intercession of Abbot John de Wheathamstead, were received into the Abbey Church, and after a solemn funeral they were all interred in the chapel of the Virgin.*

Henry VI. was miserable in himself and downhearted in spirit, a mere tool in the hands of the Yorkists whose leader, Richard, Duke of York, had been defeated and slain at Wakefield, after a fight of half-an-hour, and the whole army discomfited ; with him died his trusty friends, his two bastard uncles, Sir John and Sir Hugh Mortimer, Sir Davy Halle, his chief councillor, Sir Hugh Hastings, Sir Thomas Nevel, William and Thomas Apparre.

The Duke of York's body was found on the field, his head was struck off and placed on the top of the Micklegate Bar at York, by (so it is said) the order of Queen Margaret.

“ Off with his head and set it on York Gate,
 “ So York may over-look the town of York.”

Shakspeare, Henry VI. Act I. Sc. 4.

Margaret employed every means in her power to regain her lost authority, and to rescue her weak minded husband from bondage, and her success at Wakefield inspired her with fresh hope and courage, and she advanced towards London, where the Earl of Warwick governed, during the absence of the Earl of March, who was in Wales. Warwick hearing of her advance quitted London with a strong force taking the King, Henry VI., with him. Arriving at St. Alban's, Warwick found the Queen's army posted on Bernard's Heath on the north-east of the town. Warwick's forces were quickly attacked by a strong party, who, advancing to the market place, were repulsed and driven back. The Yorkists maintained their advantage for a short time but were at last obliged to give way, and Queen Margaret obtained a complete victory, Shrove Tuesday, February 17th, 1461.

* Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 203.

This was the second battle of St. Alban's. Two to three thousand of Warwick's army were slain; one of whom, Sir John Grey of Goby, first husband of Elizabeth Widville, had been knighted the preceding day at Colney by the King. Warwick fled, and all the lords who fought on his side dispersed in different directions other than Lord Bonneville and Sir Thomas Kyriell, who remained by the King on the assurance of safety, both of whom were afterwards beheaded by the Queen's orders.

As before stated trains wait for no man, so the Cocked Hats started off for the Great Northern Railway Station to catch the train for London.

“ Happy to meet, sorry to part,
Happy to meet again.”

It may perhaps be mentioned before closing this paper that the writer, at his own cost, thoroughly repaired the Maces, Loving Cups, and the Civic Regalia of St. Albans at the instance of T. W. Blagg, Esq., the Town Clerk.

“ Sic transit Gloria ” Monday, and the outing to Bedford, its surroundings and St. Albans.

APPENDIX.

HUMPHREY, EARL OF PEMBROKE, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER,

Was the fourth son of Henry IV. (Bolinbroke), eldest son of John of Gaunt (or Gand), Duke of Lancaster, the fourth son of King Edward III. by Mary de Bohun; created Earl of Pembroke and Duke of Gloucester; born in 1414. In the settlement of the Government of the late King Henry V., who died at the Castle of Vincennes, near Paris, after one month's illness, on the 31st of August, aged thirty-four, and the tenth year of his reign, 1422 he was appointed Protector to the baby King Henry VI. He married Jaquelina, Countess of Hainault, the divorced wife of John de Brabant. Gloucester; with 5,000 men, dispossessed the Duke of Brabant of Hainault, and made himself master of that province, which the Duke of Burgundy took very ill, and made great preparations to dislodge Gloucester of his ill-gotten gain. A truce was concluded between Brabant and Gloucester, and the latter returned to England, whereupon a great quarrel arose between Humphrey of Gloucester and Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, December 2nd, 1425.

On the 18th February, 1426, a Parliament met at Leicester, at which Articles of Impeachment were exhibited by Gloucester against the Bishop of Winchester; the Bishop was acquitted and the Parliament obliged the contending parties to be reconciled; but the Great Seal was taken from the Bishop of Winchester, and for fear of his raising any disturbance he was placed in the custody of the Duke of Bedford, who took him to France in his suite.

Jaquelina left her husband and fled to the Duke of Burgundy, and the Province of Hainault received the Duke of

Brabant as its sovereign in place of the Duke of Gloucester. Jaqueline escaped into Holland, and the Duke of Brabant carried war into that country, which lasted till the year 1428.

The Bishop of Winchester, who was with the Duke of Bedford, received the hat of a Cardinal at Calais, and was shortly after the Pope's Legate in England. About the 13th October, 1428, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, sent a reinforcement of English to help his duchess wife, but they were defeated by the Duke of Burgundy, and very soon after the duchess's marriage with Gloucester was annulled by the Pope,* and the Duke married his old mistress Eleanor, daughter of Reginald, Lord Cobham.

On the 12th of May, 1429, the Bishop of Winchester renewed his quarrel with the Duke of Gloucester.

On the 6th November, 1429, the young King Henry VI. was solemnly crowned in Westminster Abbey and the Protectorship of Gloucester suppressed in 1430. On the 24th April, King Henry VI. was crowned in Paris. So bitter was the animosity between the Duke of Gloucester and the Bishop of Winchester that the former used all his influence to deprive the latter of his see, but the affair was put off (but only for a time), by the King's Council, November 6th, 1431, and in 1432 the King returned to England, and at a Parliament, held on May 12th of the same year the Duke of Gloucester endeavoured to prove the Bishop of Winchester guilty of high treason, of which he was acquitted by the Parliament, and the King granted the Bishop a full pardon for whatever he had done contrary to the laws, especially the Statute of Provisors.

In June, 1436, the Duke of Burgundy laid siege to Calais with an army of 50,000 men. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, was sent off to the relief of that town with 15,000 men, whereupon the Duke of Burgundy retired in great disorder.

On the 10th July, 1437, the Cardinal Bishop of Winchester

* ¹⁴¹⁷
to } Martin V. (Oddone Colonna) born at Rome; or
¹⁴³¹

¹⁴³⁴
to } Clement VIII. a Spaniard Anti-pope at Avignon. The latter, in
¹⁴⁸¹ } the opinion of the writer, granted the annulment.

obtained a general pardon of the King to the annoyance of the Duke of Gloucester. In June, 1440, the Duke of Orleans, who had been a prisoner in England since the battle of Agincourt, October 25th, 1415, was set at liberty, notwithstanding the opposition of the Duke of Gloucester, who entered a protestation against it.

In July, 1441, Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, was accused of witchcraft and treason, and was condemned to do public penance upon three occasions, and then to be imprisoned for life. The quarrel between Gloucester and the Cardinal Bishop of Winchester was by no means abated, even after the apparent acquittal of the 12th May, 1432, and the general pardon of 10th July, 1437, for on the 28th August, 1442, the Duke of Gloucester exhibited twenty-four Articles of Accusation to the Council against the Cardinal, but the King granted him a pardon, and the good Duke's interest with the Court declined more and more.

On May 28th, 1444, William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, proposed a marriage between King Henry VI. and Margaret, daughter of René of Anjou, titular King of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem, and instead of demanding any portion with her, agreed with her father to deliver up the whole Province of Maine to her father, the King of Sicily. The Duke of Gloucester most strenuously opposed the match, which proved his ruin, and the marriage was solemnized at Tours by proxy, the Earl of Suffolk representing the Kings. Queen Margaret came to England in April, and was married April 22nd, 1445, in the Abbey of Lichfield to the King Henry VI., personally, and coming to London was crowned Queen at the Abbey of Westminster on the 30th May. The Queen, the Earl (now Marquis) of Suffolk, the Cardinal Bishop of Winchester, and the Archbishop of York formed a league against the Duke of Gloucester.

On the 24th January, 1446, the Parliament, which had been prorogued to the beginning of the year, met again at Westminster, and returned thanks to the Marquis of Suffolk for his pains and diligence in concluding a truce and the marriage, and granted to him a fifteenth of the charges of his Embassy.

The Queen and Court Party contrived the ruin of the Duke of Gloucester; they removed him from the Council, caused him to be accused of having put criminals to another sort of death than the law of the land ordered; but he fully vindicated himself.

His ruin being determined upon, a Parliament was summoned to meet at Cambridge, and afterwards at Bury St. Edmunds, where the Duke, according to summons, attended. There he was arrested, apprehended, and confined by Viscount Beaumont, Constable of England, but the next night he was found dead in his bed. He was exposed to public view as though he had died a natural death February 10th, 1447, and his body was buried in the Abbey Church of St. Albans.

Thirty-two of the Duke's chief domestics were accused of treason and imprisoned; five were arraigned and condemned, and were drawn on a hurdle to Tyburn, but all were pardoned beneath the gallows tree.

Such was the end of Humphrey Plantagenet, Earl of Pembroke, Duke of Gloucester, whose death made way for the Duke of York to aspire to the Crown, and it was the cause of subsequent miseries, bringing a universal odium on the Queen Margaret, her Council, and advisers.

Henry Beaufort, his enemy, Cardinal Bishop of Winchester, died April 11th, 1447, having held that See for fifty years. In March, 1450, the Duke of Suffolk was impeached and committed to the Tower, and after a month's imprisonment was released, and resumed his post at Court.

On the 29th of April, in the same year, the Parliament was adjourned to Leicester. The King, Queen, and Duke of Suffolk repaired thither in great state. The Commons, not forgetting their old grudge against Suffolk, petitioned that all persons concerned in the delivery of Maine and Anjou, particularly the Duke, might be punished; to pacify them the Duke was banished from England for five years.

The Duke embarked for France, but was met at sea by a ship belonging to the Duke of Exeter, Constable of the Tower. Suffolk was brought into Dover roads, where his head was struck off on the side of a cock-boat, which he imagined was to put him on shore May 2nd, 1450. Such was the end of William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk.

DR. SAMUEL BUTLER.

Dr. Samuel Butler, 1612—1680, whose name in all official documents was spelt Boteler to the end of his life, was born at Strensham-on-Avon, Worcestershire, and baptized February 8th, 1612. His father was the churchwarden, who has been variously represented, firstly as a substantial farmer, owning a small freehold, and leasing a large farm of Sir William Russell, valued at £300 a year, and secondly as “a man of slender fortune,” who was barely able to educate his son at a free school. The house in which he was born was pulled down in 1873.

No particulars of his youth are recorded, and that of his later education is equally slender and uncertain. He is said to have been educated at the Cathedral School of Worcester, and desired to have proceeded to Cambridge, for which his proficiency in learning would have entitled him to do, but the finances of his father were too slender to allow him to undergo that matriculation. It has been said that he studied at Oxford, but the balance of testimony seems to be against him as not having belonged to either University.

The time between the completion of his education, 1630, and the Restoration appears to have been spent by him in three different households, viz., Mr. Jefferies, an eminent Justice of the Peace, of Earl’s Croom, Worcestershire, where he employed his leisure hours in studying history, poetry, music, and painting, some specimens of which were existing not long since, but were not worth preserving.

He was next in the employment of Elizabeth, Countess of Kent, at Wrest in Bedfordshire, but how he obtained an introduction to that lady is not known, but under her patronage he had access to a well stocked library, and enjoyed the conversation of the learned Selden, and assisted that celebrated antiquary in his literary labours, and was in the habit of making long visits to, and enjoying the society of the company at Asket, the Earl of Carnarvon’s seat in Buckinghamshire.

He was afterwards in the service of Sir Samuel Luke of Woodend, or Cople Hoo, in the same county of Bedford, an

ancient knight who had been one of Cromwell's commanders, and who is supposed to be the prototype of the character of Hudibras. He entered again into the service of Mr. Jeffries of Earl's Croom, in the capacity of justice's clerk, and it is said that he there laid the foundation of his remarkable knowledge of law and law terms. Here he again employed his time in general study, more particularly in painting, which he thought of adopting as a profession, but it resulted in nothing, for according to the remarks of one of the editors of his works in 1774 "his pictures served to stop windows and thus save the tax, for, indeed, they were not fit for much else."

But his third sojourn at Cople Hoo was not only the longest but the most important in its effects on his career and works. In what capacity he served this last time, is not known; or how. One, who was not only in temper and sympathies, but also from early associations a decided Royalist, came to reside in the house of a noted Puritan and Parliament man, a rigid Presbyterian, a Colonel in the Parliamentary army, Scout-master General for Bedfordshire, and Governor of Newport Pagnell is not known.

Butler must have had ample opportunity of studying from the life, those who were to be the victims of his future great satire. How long he served Sir Samuel Luke or what situation he held under the Knight of Cople is not known, and all is a blank, until after the restoration of King Charles II., when he became secretary to Richard, Earl of Carbury, Lord President of the Principality of Wales, who, at the revival of the Court of Marches, made him Steward of Ludlow Castle. Contradictory documents exist respecting his tenure, one speaking of him as late Steward in January, 1662; the other, a protection against arrest addressed to him as Steward, September, 1667.

About this time he married Mrs. Herbert, a woman of good family, but not a widow, who, according to Aubrey, had a considerable fortune, and with her and on her money he lived very comfortably; Aubrey was his personal friend and knew his habits, his ways and means. He at length suffered considerable privations owing to his wife's money being in-

vested in bad securities. He is supposed to have visited France, so also that he received £300 from Charles II., and to have filled the post of Secretary to George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, when that nobleman was Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, but there is no reliable evidence of the same. He lived on terms of familiar intercourse with the Duke, also the Earl of Dorset, and with many other wits of the time. And from his association with these men, Butler hoped and confidently looked forward to posts of honour and preferment. It was currently reported at the time that the Lord Chancellor Clarendon had spoken of places and posts of employment and emolument, and the Duke of Buckingham, it is said, urged Butler's pretensions of wit and loyalty upon the royal bounty of King Charles II., who returned an assurance "that the poet's claims should not pass unrequited." The King's words were fair and full of promise, but they were followed by no deeds. Solitude and depression, are the natural consequences of neglect and poverty, and to the extreme of these Butler was reduced.

He died on the 25th of September, 1680, in Rose Street, Covent Garden, it has been stated, by his biographer, Dr. Zachary Grey, in great poverty, but his friend, Mr. Charles Longueville, denies this, and asserts that although often disappointed, he was never reduced to anything like want or beggary, and that he did not die in debt. His friend Aubrey writes that "he might have had preferments at first, but would not accept any but that, which was very good, and so got none. Whether he died in easy or straightened circumstances, this is well-known, that he was buried at the west-end, in the church-yard of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, under the wall that divides the yard from Bedford Street, at the expense of his friend William Longueville, one of the Benchers of the Middle Temple, the father of Mr. Charles, above-mentioned. Butler had yellowish hair; his complexion was sanguine; in temper choleric; of middle size in stature and of great strength."

About the year 1721, Mr. Alderman Barber, Lord Mayor of London, erected a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey, the inscription upon which, called forth some

misplaced wit from Mr. Pope and other writers of his time ; but an excellent and just epigram from Samuel Wesley, 1766-1837. The inimitable author of "Hudibras" is commemorated in the Poets' Corner by a bust surmounting a plain tablet :—

"While Butler, needy Wretch, was yet alive,
 "No Gen'rous Patron would a dinner give :
 "See him when Starved to death, and turned to Dust,
 "Presented with a Monumental Bust.
 "The Poet's Fate is here in Emblem shown
 "He asked for Bread, and he received a Stone."

Sam Wesley.

M. S.

SAMUELIS BUTLERI

Qui Strenshamiae in agro Vigorn. nat. 1612

Obiit Lond. 1680

Vir doctus imprimis, acer, integer ;
 Operibus Ingenii, non item præmiis felix :
 Satyrici apud nos Carminis, Artifex egregius ;
 Quo simulatae Religioni Larvam detraxit,
 Et Perduellium scelera liberrime exagitavit,
 Scriptorum in suo genere Primus et Postremus
 Ne cui vivo deerant ferè omnia,
 Deesset etiam Mortuo Tumulus
 Hoc tandem posito marmore curavit
 JOHANNES BARBER, CIVIS LONDINENSIS 1721.

In Vol. I. page 79, of the "Westmonasterium," by Dart, a translation of this inscription is thus given :—

Sacred to the Memory of
 SAMUEL BUTLER,
 Who was born at Strensham in Worcestershire 1612,
 And dy'd at LONDON 1680.
 A man of extraordinary Learning Wit and Integrity ;
 Peculiarly happy in his Writings,
 Not so in the Encouragement of them :
 The curious Inventor of a kind of Satire amongst us,
 By which he pluck'd the Mask from Pious Hypocrisy

*And plentifully exposed the Villainy of Rebels :
The First and Last of Writers in His Way ;
Lest He, who (when alive) was destitute of all things
Should (when dead) want likewise a Monument*
JOHN BARBER, CITIZEN OF LONDON, hath taken care
by placing this Stone over him 1721.

In 1786 some of the inhabitants of the parish of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, placed a tablet in the church to his memory; this was destroyed in the disastrous (?) fire of 1845. In 1850 Mr. Taylor, a gentleman living at Strensham, Butler's birthplace, had a tablet set up in the poet's memory. But Butler's monument is one of his own producing, which will live as long as the English language is spoken. He would have been correct if he had written :—

“Exegi Monumentum Ære perennius.”—*Horace*.
Or quoted “Ovid,”

“Jamque opus exegi quod nec Jovis, Ira nec Ignis,
“Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere Vetustas.”

It is the poem of “Hudibras,” a composition of which our nation may feel proud of, the images which it exhibits are domestic, the sentiments unborrowed and unexpected, and the strain of diction original and peculiar.

“Hudibras” is a Presbyterian Justice who, in the confidence of legal authority and the rage of zealous ignorance, ranges up, down and throughout the country to repress superstition and correct abuses. He is accompanied by an Independent, disputatious and obstinate clerk, with whom the hero debates very often, but never quiets the clerk nor conquers him. But for poor “Hudibras,” the poet exhibits no tenderness, shows him no respect, not even pity, holds him up to jest and laughter, mingled with contempt, without any quality that can dignify or protect him.

In forming the character of “Hudibras,” and describing his person and clothes, the author labours with a tumultuous confusion of dissimilar ideas; doubtless he had read about mock knight errants and Cervantes' Don Quixote. He knew the manners and notions of a Presbyterian magistrate, having studied the character of Sir Samuel Luke, and he

tried to unite the absurdities of both, however distant, in one personage.

Much of the humour which delighted readers in the 17th century, is lost to us in the 19th century, who know nothing of the sour solemnity, sullen superstition, gloomy moroseness and the stubborn scruples of the old Puritans. "The wisdom of the nation is supposed to reside in its Parliament;" this passage cannot be applied to the Irish section of the Parliament of 1885 to 1889. Admit the lower orders to Parliament, and the scenes enacted in France, 1784 to 1800 may possibly be repeated.

Take for instance that in one of the Parliaments summoned by the Great Protector, Cromwell, it was seriously proposed :—

"That all the records in the Tower of London should be burned on the Tower Green."

"That all memory of things past should be effaced."

"That the whole system of life (?) political, should commence anew."

A fine specimen of the wisdom of the mob in 1650 to 1660; and did not the French mob repeat the same folly? when it determined to efface all history that had preceded the year 1. of the Republic,* changed the names of the months, and day and date of the year. What effect this poem of "Hudibras" had upon the public of the time when it was published cannot now be known; whether it shamed imposture, or reclaimed credulity cannot be determined. "Cheats," wrote Dr. Johnson, "can seldom stand long before laughter, nor folly face ridicule."

EDMUND SPENSER.

On his monument in Westminster Abbey he is termed the "Prince of Poets," and is usually ranked with Chaucer, Shakespeare and Milton. Very little is known of his personal history, and that which is known is obscure and contradictory.

That he was born at East Smithfield, a broad space of land north and north-east of the Tower of London, is well known, for he writes in the "Prothalamion":—

* This era began September 22nd, 1792.
See *Appendix*, page 144.

“ Merry London, my most kindly nurse,
 “ That to me gave this life’s first native source.”
 “ Though from another place I take my name,
 “ An house of antient fame.”—*Prothalamion*.

and in the “ Amoretti ” sonnet sixty, he writes that he had lived forty-one years ; now the date of the publication of this book was 1595, which would give the date of his birth as 155 $\frac{3}{4}$, but the relationship of the poet to the noble family of Spencer or Spenser was very very remote, and his family ties must be looked for among the humbler Spensers of north-east Lancashire. The common statement is that the “ house of antient fame ” was that of Earl Spencer. The particular branch, to which the Poet belonged, is now said to be that which was settled at Hurst Wood, near Burnley, in Lancashire, until the year 1690, and to which his father, John Spenser, belonged. Beyond a doubt he was well-connected, for some of his minor poems are addressed to Anne, daughter of Sir John Spenser, who married Lord Mounteagle, and after his death, Henry Lord Compton ; and also to her sister Elizabeth, wife of George Cary, who in 1596 was created Lord Hunsdon.

His father is supposed to have been John Spenser, a free man in the art and mystery of clothes making. That he was of poor parents is shown by the following statement ; a Mr. Robert Nowell left a sum of money to be distributed amongst various charites, and in the account books of the executors, among the names of the beneficiaries, appears the name of Edmund Spensore, scholar of the Merchant Taylors School, at his going to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, April 28th, 1569. He was entitled to get his education at this celebrated school, his father being a freeman of the Company. He entered, at the age of sixteen, as a sizar,* May 20th, 1569. His health was not good, for while he was in residence, college allowances were often paid, “ Spencer ægrotanti ” (sick, in a languishing condition).

* A student of the lowest class, (below the pensioner) who waited at meals, then eat at the public table of that which was left of the food and drink supplied from the Buttery Hatch.

In 1572 he took the degree of B.A., and in 1576 the degree of M.A. He competed for a vacant fellowship with Launcelot Andrewes, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, but failed in his examination, and in consequence, left Pembroke College and went to live with some friends in the north of England, and it was during this retirement, that he wrote the "Shepheard's Calendar," and it has been said, that he fell in love with Rosalind, who is supposed to have been a real personage, but this is somewhat doubtful; the work was published in quarto in 1579, and dedicated to "The ever Memorable Sir Philip Sidney, Governor of Flushing in Holland, who was afterwards wounded on the battlefield of Zutphen, a town in Guelderland, and died at Arnheim, October 7th, 1586, aged thirty-three.

In 1580 appeared the "Foure Epistles," which passed between Spenser and Gabriel Harvey, a prominent figure in the University life of that time, an enthusiastic educationist, vigorous, versatile, proud of his learning and literary powers, which gave him a certain standing in London society of that period, when the advancement of English literature was the rage, Harvey was full of reforming English verse, discarding rhyme and substituting classical metres, but owing to his controversy with Thomas Nash, he was looked upon as an obstreperous and pragmatic pedant.

Edmund Spenser had sense enough not to be led away by Harvey's eccentricities, but nevertheless the latter helped him very considerably, and gave him a farther stimulus to pursue literature, as is evinced in Gabriel Harvey's letter-book published by the Camden Society, which throws a very kindly light on his character.

Edmund Spenser was sent to Ireland as secretary to Lord Grey of Wilton by the Earl of Leicester, uncle to Sir Philip Sidney.

Spencer ceased to be Secretary to the Lord Deputy when Lord Grey de Wilton was recalled in 1582, but he continued in the public service, and in 1586 was promoted to the onerous position of Clerk to the Council of Munster,* and his

services in that capacity procured him in 1586 a grant from the Crown of 3028 acres of land, Kilcolman, County Cork, forfeited by the Earl of Desmond, and he took up his residence at the Castle of Kilcolman, on the banks of the river Mulla, near Doneraile, and while in residence at Kilcolman, the "Faerie Queen" was (in all probability) begun. Here he was visited by Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom he addressed a poem, "Shepherd of the Ocean;" and here he occupied himself with the composition of the "Faerie Queen," and after reading the manuscript to a friend, "amongst the cool shade of the green alders by the Mulla's shore," he proceeded to London in 1590, dedicated it to Queen Elizabeth, and published it without delay, with an explanatory address to Raleigh.

Twelve months elapsed, and he returned to Ireland. After the pastoral fashion, which he so loved to sing, he married a rustic lass, Elizabeth Boyle, June 11th, 1594, a connection of the Cork family, but whether this was his first or second marriage is unknown. He alludes to the love, which he entertained to this lady in his "Amoretti."

The disturbed state of the country in 1595, compelled him again to seek refuge in England, where he printed "Colin Clout's come home again," with some other poems, such as the "Epithalamium," which relates to his courtship and marriage, and his "Elegy of Astrophel," to commemorate the death of Sydney.

In 1596 he drew up his "View of Ireland," while staying in London, which with its urgent intreaty that the Earl of Essex should be sent to Ireland, was entered at Stationers' Hall in April, 1598, but never published. The "View" is an elaborate State paper in the form of a dialogue, of a minutely considered plan for the pacification of Ireland, written out of zeal for the public service for the eyes of the Government of the day.

It passes in review the History and Character of the Irish, their Laws, Customs, Religion, Habits of Life, Armour, Dress, Social Institutions, and finding "evil usages" in every department of the State, Spencer propounds his plan of Reformation.

“Reformation can only be effected by the sword, by the “strong hand.” In the dialogue the interlocutor holds up his hands in horror :

“Do you propose extermination ?”

“By no means ! The Irish should have the choice between “submission to the Government or extermination.”

“The Government have vacillated too long fearing the cost of a thorough operation, have spent twice as much life and money as was wanted without in any way mending matters ; let them send into Ireland 10,000 foot and 1,000 horse, disperse them in garrisons, give the Irish twenty days to come in, if they do not come in, then give them no quarter afterwards, but hunt them down in the winter time when the covert is thin ; if they be well followed up one winter ye shall have little work to do with them in the next summer ; famine would complete the work of the sword, and in eighteen months time peace would be restored and the ground cleared for plantation by English Colonists.”

“There must be no flinching in the execution of this plan —no remorse or drawing back, for the sight of any such rueful object as must thereupon follow, nor of compassion for their calamities seeing that by no other means is it possible to recover them, and that these are not of will but of very urgent necessity.”

“The Government have, out of foolish compassion, drawn back before, when Lord Grey de Wilton had brought the recalcitrant Irish to the necessary extremity of famine, and they are warned against a repetition of this blunder.” Such was Spenser’s plan for the pacification of Ireland, not on his own authority but as having the support in the consultations and actions of very wise governors and counsellors whom he had heard treat thereof. He knew that it was “bloody and cruel,” but he contended passionately that it was necessary for the maintenance of English power and the Protestant religion.

The method was repugnant to the kindly nature of average Englishmen, and from the time of Lord Gray no statesman has had the heart to go through with it other than the great Protector, Cromwell, who, through his secretary, John Milton, knew of this treatise.

The great minister Burghley opposed Spenser's View, but he died in August, 1598, and in the September of the same year, Spenser was appointed by Queen Elizabeth to be Sheriff of Cork. Tempted by the hope of peaceful times he once more ventured over to Ireland of 1597, but he was doomed to severe misfortunes. He was chosen Clerk to the Council of the Province of Munster.

In the October following, Tyrone's Rebellion broke out in Ireland. The Earl of Tyrone had roused the peasantry into rebellion against the English, and they ran through the country with fire and sword, and carried out their "view" on the very, or worse, lines than that which Spenser had submitted to Queen Elizabeth's Council.

The rebels broke into and stole the goods which were in Castle Kilcolman, and then set fire to the house, and the fact, of Spenser holding that high office instigated the Irish rebels to rob him of his goods and to set fire to his house. His newly-born child was burnt, and he and his wife, Elizabeth Boyle, narrowly escaped with their lives.

His castle burnt, his lands devastated, and his property made the spoil of the victorious rebels, the poet and his wife hurried back to England.

Spenser returned to England, ruined in fortune and broken-hearted. Sir Walter Raleigh is supposed to have introduced him to Queen Elizabeth, who gave orders that Mr. Spenser should have some reward for his poems. The Queen granted him a pension of £50, but it was never paid.

"It pleased Your Grace upon a tyme,
 "To grant me reason for my ryme;
 "But from that tyme until this season,
 "I heard of neither ryme nor reason."

The Queen rebuked Lord Burleigh for his parsimony in not letting the poet have reason for his rhyme.

Spenser presented Her Majesty with these lines:—

"Full little knowst thou, that has not tried
 "What Hell it is, in suing long to bide;
 "To lose good days that might be better spent;
 "To waste long nights in pensive discontent;

" To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow ;
 " To feed on hope, to pine with fear and sorrow ;
 " To have thy prince's grace, yet want his peers' ;
 " To have thy asking, yet wait many years ;
 " To fret thy soul with crosses and with cares
 " To eat thy heart through comfortless despairs ;
 " To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run,
 " To spend, to give, to wait, to be undone."

Malone discovered among the Records deposited in the Rolls Chapel, a grant of £50 per annum from Queen Elizabeth, which he never received. He died in indigence, January 16th, 159 $\frac{8}{9}$, in King Street, Westminster. He was buried at his own request near Chaucer in Westminster Abbey, at the expense of the Earl of Essex.

Thirty years after his death the Countess of Dorset erected a monument to his memory, which in the year 1778 was restored by the Fellows of Pembroke Hall. It is commemorated by a plain tablet in the Poet's Corner. It was originally erected by Anne, Countess of Dorset, who paid Nicholas Stone £40 for it. It was a block of Purbeck stone, which, falling gradually into decay, was restored by a subscription set on foot at the instigation of Mason, the poet, in 1768. The present memorial corresponds with the older one in every particular, the substitution of statuary marble for Purbeck stone, solely excepted. The inscription is one of the simplest and most touching in the Abbey.

Heare lyes (expecting the second
 Comminge of our Saviour Christ
 Jesus) the body of Edmond Spenser
 The Prince of Poets in his tyme
 whose divine Spirrit needs noe
 Other Witness than the Works
 Which he left behinde him

He was borne in London in the yeare 1553
 and died in the year 1598.

He left two sons, Sylvanus and Peregrine. The former had no children, Peregrine had one son, Hugh, who was restored to the estate of Kilcolman in Ireland, by King

Charles II., but for his adherence to the cause of James II., he was outlawed and the estate reverted to the Crown. William Spenser petitioned the House of Commons in 1700 for his restoration, pleading his ancestry and services as a guide to the royal troops in Ireland, and also for Hugolin, who is "very old and unmarried." He obtained all that he asked for, the grant of the estate, through the influence of the Earl of Halifax.

23 Jan. 1880

OFFICES OF "THE GLOBE"

367. STRAND,
W.C.

Dear Sir,

You are quite welcome to
make any use you please of
the article on John Howard. If
you shall print your lecture, you
will perhaps make the usual
acknowledgment in the case of
any quotation which you may
wish to make.

Yours faithfully
Percy Ogilby.

JOHN HOWARD.

Extract from "THE GLOBE," January 20th, 1890.

Towards the end of the year 1789, a young Russian lady lay sick of what was in those days termed "malignant" fever, at Cherson, an obscure village on the Dnieper, not far from the Crimea. Medical aid in the vicinity there was little or none, but an Englishman, a *rara avis* indeed in Russia at that time, happened to be staying in the village. He was evidently a man of education and means, and having travelled so much, doubtless knew many things. So at least thought the sick woman's friends. They implored his aid, and he willingly consented to visit and prescribe for the invalid. He did so, but alas! contracted the disease himself, and died after a short illness on the 20th of January, 1790.

The Englishman who thus fell a sacrifice to his humanity was John Howard, the famous philanthropist, who was visiting Russia on an errand of mercy to the unhappy prisoners confined and tortured in the prisons of that country. Neither the exact place or date of the birth of this truly good man is certainly known, but he is supposed to have been born at Clapton, in the parish of Hackney, some time in the month of September, 1726. His father, a rigid Calvinist, who had made a considerable fortune as an upholsterer, in Long Lane, Smithfield, was extremely penurious in his habits. His mother died while he was still an infant.

Young Howard, who was a delicate child, was first sent to a school kept by the Rev. John Worsley, where he remained seven years, and was then removed to an academy presided over by Mr. John Eames, a man of distinguished abilities, and an intimate friend of Sir Isaac Newton, who had a great regard for him. While here he formed a friendship with a boy afterwards to be known to fame as Richard Price, D.D., F.R.S. Although young Price's talents were of the most brilliant order, and Howard was a singularly dull boy, yet the latter's simple honesty of purpose attracted the esteem and regard of his more highly gifted school fellow, who, in after years, was able to be of the greatest assistance to him in preparing his works for the press; for the philanthropist, be it said, never completely mastered the arts of grammar and spelling. On leaving school Howard was apprenticed to a wholesale grocer in London. On this occasion his father appears to have acted liberally enough, as he paid a premium of £700, in consideration of which sum his son was to have separate apartments allowed him and the use of a pair of saddle horses.

Old Howard, however, died in 1742, and his son, by no means enamoured of trade, made arrangements to terminate his apprenticeship. Under his father's will, John Howard was heir to a considerable amount of property, as well as £7,000 in cash, and, though he was not to come into this until he had attained his 24th year, such was the confidence of his trustee in his discretion and honour that he at once let him have a share in the management of the estate. Always of a roving disposition, his first act was to make a tour of the Continent. On his return he took lodgings at Stoke Newington. Here he remained several years. His delicate health caused him great trouble, and he had to exercise the greatest care, but despite this it broke down and he was seized with a dangerous illness. His landlady, Mrs. Lardeau, a widow of small independent means, herself a chronic invalid, nursed him with the greatest kindness and attention. When convalescent he proposed to marry her out of gratitude, but for a long time she refused on account of the disparity of their ages. At length, however, this lady, a Mrs. Lardeau, consented, and they were married. This union took place in 1752, Howard being in his twenty-fifth year and his bride in her fifty-second. They lived together in great happiness for a year or two, when to her husband's great sorrow, Mrs. Howard died. She appears to have been an excellent woman in every way. It is illustrative of Howard's generous disposition that on their marriage he settled his wife's little independence upon her sister.

In 1775 occurred the terrible earthquake at Lisbon, by which 60,000 persons lost their lives. Howard, who had been brooding over the loss of his wife, resolved to seek distraction by visiting the scene of the catastrophe, and accordingly embarked on board a vessel bound for Lisbon, but he was not destined to reach it, for his ship was captured by a French privateer, and he underwent some extremely unpleasant experiences. After he and his companions had been kept forty hours without food or drink, they were taken to Brest and thrown into a filthy dungeon; and still they received no food for a considerable time. At length a joint of mutton was thrown to them, which, being without knives, they had to tear and gnaw like dogs. After a week of this he was removed to Morlaix and thence to Carpaix, at which place he spent two months on parole, and such confidence did he inspire in a person in the town, that he was provided with board, lodging and money on his simple promise to send a remittance when he got back to his native country.

Shortly afterwards he was released on parole, and returned to

England, where he made the necessary exchange. There can be little doubt that Howard's miseries at Brest influenced him in his after life's devotion to the amelioration of the dreadful condition of prisoners in his own and other countries, for shortly after his arrival in England he made an application to the Commissioners of Sick and Wounded Seamen, representing the state of his fellow-prisoners. This appeal had its effect, and he was thanked by the Commissioners. Howard now retired to Cardington, a village near Bedford, where he had bought a seat. Here he began improving the condition of his tenantry, and dabbled a little in the *belles lettres* and science. In 1758 he married again; the lady was Miss Henrietta Leeds, daughter of Edward Leeds, Serjeant-at-Law of Croxton, in Cambridgeshire. Now came what he called the happiest time of his life; he and his wife spent their time in doing all they could for their tenants. Howard was before his time in one respect; he recognised that sobriety and happiness were impossible so long as the people were dirty in their habits and wretchedly housed. Under the *régime* of himself and his wife things wonderfully improved, and Cardington became quite a model village. True, at the present day, his autocratic sway might have been esteemed tyrannical; but, how many land-owners of that period cared two straws about the condition of their tenants?

In March, 1765, a son was born to him,* but a few days after this event, to his inexpressible grief, his wife died. So deeply did he feel his loss that for some years he lived at Cardington in the utmost retirement. At length he broke up his establishment, made arrangements for his son's education, and set out for the Continent. He visited Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Rome, and Naples, and then returned home. Now came the event that for good and all decided his after life's devotion—he was nominated High Sheriff for his county. Howard, being a dissenter, was, under the Test Act, debarred from taking office under the State under a heavy penalty; nevertheless, he felt it to be his duty to accept the post, and did so. The discharge of his duties necessarily led him into the interior of the county gaol, and the state of things he saw there made him resolve to devote his life to its amelioration. One thing in particular that disgusted him was to find that prisoners who had actually been

* This son lived to embitter his father's peace of mind. Having been sent to the University of Edinburgh and placed under the care of the Venerable Dr. Blacklock, he there contracted habits of dissipation and extravagance which were his ruin, and broke the heart of John Howard.

found not guilty by juries, were dragged back to prison because of their inability to pay sundry fees to gaolers, &c. His next proceeding was to make a tour of inspection of English prisons. He discovered the most infamous abuses ; at many of them the gaolers actually paid as much as £40 per annum to be allowed to hold their places, so great were their emoluments from fees. As for the wretched prisoners, they existed in a state of incredible filth and starvation. He made a report of his work and sent it to the House of Commons, who instituted a Commission, before which, Howard gave evidence. After this he was called to the Bar of the House, and it was moved "that Mr. Speaker do acquaint John Howard, Esq., that the House is very sensible of the humanity and zeal which have led him to visit the several gaols of this kingdom, and to communicate to the House the interesting observations he has made on the subject." He accordingly received the thanks of the House. His ire was, however, kindled by a member, asking, "at whose expense Mr. Howard travelled?" to this impertinent and ignorant inquirer his indignant emotion scarcely permitted him to reply. The result of Howard's exertions were soon apparent ; two Bills passed the Commons, one to abolish fees and to remunerate gaolers by a fixed salary, the other to improve the ventilation of prisons. The Bills were printed, and sent at his own expense to every gaoler and warder in the kingdom.

Howard next made another tour through England to see whether the legalised improvements were being carried out. He then visited North and South Wales for the purpose of seeing the gaols. While thus engaged, on noticing some extremely deplorable wretches, he asked where they came from, and was told, "from the bridewells ;" whereupon he resolved to make these institutions a new subject of inquiry. He now made another tour through the counties, inspecting houses of correction, and city and town gaols. His attention was aroused by the prevalence of gaol fever and smallpox, "which," he wrote, "prevail to the destruction of multitudes, not only of felons in their dungeons, but of debtors also."

During 1774 he completed his survey of English gaols, and at the end of the year, at urgent request, stood for Bedford, but was beaten by four votes. He felt his rejection deeply, but resumed his tours of inspection, visiting Scotland and Ireland. In the latter country he found the gaols even worse than in England. He was now thinking of preparing his report, but, "I designed," he writes, "to publish the account of our prisons in the spring of

1775, after I returned from Scotland and Ireland. But, conjecturing that something useful to my purpose might be collected abroad, I laid my papers aside and travelled into France, Flanders, Holland, and Germany." In Paris he made a plucky attempt to get into the Bastille, but failed. He visited, however, other French prisons, and was struck with the good diet and prevailing cleanliness and absence of distemper. He speaks also very highly of the nuns who acted as nurses in the prison infirmaries.

In 1777, Dr. Price helped him to arrange his diaries and memoranda, with the result that a large quarto volume of 520 pages and four plates appeared during the year, entitled "The State of the Prisons in England and Wales, with preliminary Observations and Account of some Foreign Prisons," by J. Howard, F.R.S. At the author's desire this work was sold under cost price; it created an immense sensation. "The world," says Dr. Aikin, "was astonished at the mass of valuable materials accumulated by a private unaided individual, through a course of prodigious labour, and at the constant hazard of life, in consequence of the infectious diseases prevalent in the scenes of his inquiries."*

Howard next directed his attention to the convict hulks, where he found the state of things disgraceful, but through his powerful aid they were soon altered for the better. There is one sad thing in Howard's life which must be mentioned—that was the harshness towards his son of which he has been accused. It has been, however, fairly confuted. That Howard was a strict disciplinarian cannot be denied, but his son, the son of such a father, exhibited extraordinarily vicious propensities, and ended his days in a madhouse. He sold the old house in which he was born to Mr. Thomas Smith, in 1785.

In 1789 he set off for what was to be his last tour. He signified his intention of visiting Russia and Turkey, and of extending his route into the East. "I am not insensible," he said, "of the dangers which must attend such a journey. Should it please God to cut off my life in the prosecution of this design, let

* Some of the scenes noticed were truly deplorable. At Salisbury just without the prison gaol was a chain passed through a round staple fixed in the wall, at each end of which a debtor padlocked by the leg stood, offering to the passers-by, nets, laces, purses, &c., made in prison. At Winchester Mr. Howard saw a destructive dungeon for felons, eleven steps underground, dark, damp, and close. The surgeon of the gaol informed him that twenty prisoners had died therein of gaol fever in the year. At Guildford, prisoners had neither bedding, straw, or work.

not my conduct be uncandidly imputed to rashness or enthusiasm, but to a serious, deliberate conviction that I am pursuing the path of duty; and to the sincere desire of being made an instrument of more extensive usefulness to my fellow-creatures than could be expected in the narrow circle of a retired life." Addressing the electors of Bristol in 1780, Edmund Burke said of this utterly unselfish and noble-minded man, "I cannot name this gentleman without remarking that his labours and writings have done much to open the eyes and hearts of all mankind. He has visited all Europe—not to survey the sumptuousness of palaces or the stateliness of temples; not to make accurate measurements of the remains of ancient grandeur, nor to form a scale of the curiosities of modern art, nor to collect medals or collate manuscripts; but to dive into the depths of dungeons, to plunge into the infection of hospitals, to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain; to take the gauge and dimensions of misery, depression, and contempt; to remember the forgotten, to attend to the neglected, to visit the forsaken, and compare and collate the distresses of men in all countries. His plan is original; it is as full of genius as of humanity. It was a voyage of discovery, a circumnavigation of charity. Already the benefit of his labour is more or less felt in every country; I hope he will anticipate his final reward by seeing all its effects fully realised in its own.

PRISONS AND PRISONERS.

Extract from "THE GLOBE," 20th January, 1890.

It is not a little unfortunate that centenary celebrations should have become so common, if only because less distinction than it deserves can thus be given to the day on which John Howard departed from a world whose miseries he did more to lighten than any one man who ever lived. Of course nobody imagines that had it not been for Howard the gaols of this or of any other country would now be as he found them—horrible hotbeds of pestilence maintained for the profit of extortioners who were allowed by law to trade upon the wretchedness of their fellow-creatures. Such a system could not have endured through the inevitable changes of the last hundred years. But this does not detract from the honour due to the personal work of Howard, who was the first to realise the evil, to set himself to reform it, alone and unaided, and to stake his life upon the issue. And it depends upon the first pioneer what general direction shall be given to the movement which he leads. Every

subsequent reformer in the province of the treatment of criminals has more or less followed the lines which Howard laid down; none has entirely departed from them. It may well be, therefore, that had matters been left to the gradual development of public opinion, we might still be in the state of controversy concerning first principles. Happily, that is not the trouble of this generation. That the worst of criminals ought to be treated with humanity, and with no more than a strictly regulated severity; that destruction of health, uncleanness, and starvation, are no proper attributes of punishment; that the requirements of the law, and not the comparative rapacity and cruelty of the gaoler, constitute the true penal measure—these seem to us elementary truisms; but they were not always so considered, even by humane men. And it is by no means certain that we should be so sure of them as we are, had not one man discovered them and forced them into the public mind, somewhat against its will, once for all.

Indeed, in one respect it is not quite so certain that one of these elementary truths is not becoming a little tampered with in these days—not, indeed, in theory; no reasonable being would do that—but certainly in practice. We mean the regulated severity which regards a man who has been convicted of an offence simply and solely as a prisoner, treating him as humanely as every prisoner ought to be treated, but not with any less strictness of measure than is prescribed for all. In Howard's time, better treatment was to be obtained by paying black-mail under the name of "fees" or "garnish." Thus the prisoner who was better off in purse or in friends had an advantage which the gaolers let him purchase to the full, seeing that they lived by the sale of privileges. And now it seems as if we were returning to the bad old system, though, of course, in a less open and unblushing manner. We call our "garnish" by the more attractive names of "sentiment," or "sympathy." The man of public position, or of many friends, who can get a few emotional people to take an interest in his case, may almost count upon obtaining those privileges of a recognised invalid, or of a "first-class misdemeanant," for which the poor and the friendless, who have done nothing "interesting," may apply in vain. The purse-stealer must serve his term without any other mitigations than humanity demands; but no sooner does some mercenary trafficker in atrocious calumny get convicted and sentenced than—if a political complexion can be given to his offence—the morbid sentimentalists are sure to clamour that he shall be treated, not

humanely, but indulgently, and even, considering that he is a convict, luxuriously. People forget that the better the position and the education of an offender, the more rigidly should his whole sentence be exacted; that, also, should be a truism. It is for the judge, who understands the prison system and its attributes, to take all special circumstances into account in passing sentence; not for that sentence to be revised, perhaps reversed, by gaol authorities acting in obedience to irresponsible clamour. Every time it happens, whether in England or in Ireland, that privilege is granted to influence, as great an outrage is perpetrated on justice as when a gaoler of the old school exempted one of his prisoners from the worst evils of the typhus den for a bribe.

With regard to other points of gaol discipline, the only real question is whether there is not some tendency to push progress on the line of philanthropy somewhat too far. The idea of imprisonment is, or should be, deterrent as well as penal; and when prisons are so far superior in point of wholesomeness and comfort to the ordinary dwellings of the classes who mostly find their way into them, the deterrent element cannot be very prominent. No doubt the class from which criminals chiefly come have a passion for liberty, as those who try to attract them into descent dwellings know only too well; but then gaol chaplains and other experts are equally well aware that the prison is, in many cases, not regarded by any means as so shameful or repulsive as the workhouse, and that an occasional retirement thereto is considered a convenience. Indeed the combination of medical and spiritual care, perfect cleanliness, a sufficiency of good food, just enough labour to ensure healthy fatigue, and an entire absence of responsibility might induce many a mind by no means "innocent" to "take these for an hermitage." It would be interesting to know what Howard, who was a strict disciplinarian, would think of a country which treats its criminals better than its paupers. He would not, we think, hold that prison reform has said quite its last word; though what its next is to be seems to require the courage, independence, and wisdom of another Howard to discover.

HOWARD THE PHILANTHROPIST.

Extract from the "GLOBE," 20th January, 1890.

Writing on the centenary of John Howard, the *Times* points out that with all his reputation, his precise title to honour has been generally misunderstood. He is loosely spoken of as a philanthropist who went from prison to prison, and from hospital to hospital of Europe, ministering to the wants of prisoners and sick persons. Howard was, without doubt, a good and charitable man, but the errand upon which he traversed Europe over and over again was not an errand of mercy in that sense. He had a far deeper conception of the philanthropist's function than to be a scatterer of doles. Nor was he one of those "Friends of Humanity," whose friendship to their fellow-creatures consisted in revolving grand theories out of a so-called "natural law." Howard really did for imprisonment what Beccaria and Bentham did for criminal legislation—placed it upon a humane and logical basis. In conclusion, the *Times* says:—"If Howard were living to-day, he would see the science of which he laid the foundations brought as near perfection as the changefulness of human opinion allows us to admit. He would see in our prison system one of the few social institutions out of which the most jaundiced politician can make no capital. We do not count the agitation about political prisoners, which is really a controversy about crime, not about punishment. The name of the man who founded this new order of things is rightly one which the child learns from his school-book to hold in honour. Rightly are we proud that the philanthropist whose unwearying efforts impelled civilised nations to civilise their prisons was a countryman of ours."

The first monument placed in St. Paul's Cathedral was raised to the memory of John Howard, in 1795, and opened to public inspection during the following year. It stands near the great iron gate leading into the south aisle, and is the work of John Bacon, R.A., and well executed. There is an expressive earnestness and energy in the action of the figure, but it is hard to discover the propriety of the idea that represents a man of Howard's modest and benevolent character attired as an ancient Roman, trampling on fetters, and bearing in his right hand a key, and in his left a roll, on which are inscribed the words: "Plan for the Improvement of Prisons and Hospitals." The front of the pedestal is filled with a piece of basso-relieve, in which a prison scene is introduced with a figure distributing food and raiment. The epitaph was written by Howard's relation, the late Samuel Whitbread, M.P., and is engraved on the south side of the pedestal:—

This extraordinary man had the fortune to be
honoured while living in the manner
which his virtues deserved :

He received thanks
of both Houses of the British and Irish Parliaments
for his eminent services rendered to his Country
and to Mankind

Our national Prisons and Hospitals
improved upon the suggestion of his wisdom
bear testimony to the solidity of his judgment
and the estimation in which he was held.

In every part of the civilized world,
which he traversed to reduce the sum of human
misery,
from the throne to the dungeon his name was
mentioned

with respect, gratitude, and admiration.

His modesty alone
defeated various efforts which were made during
his life,
to erect this statue,

which the public has now consecrated to his
memory,

He was born at Hackney, in the county of
Middlesex, Sept^r 2nd
1726.

The early part of his life he spent in retirement
residing principally upon his paternal estate
at Cardington, in Bedfordshire ;
for which county he served the office of Sheriff
in the year 1773.

He expired at Cherson, in Russian Tartary, on
the 20th January 1790

a victim to the perilous and benevolent attempt
to ascertain the cause of, and find an efficacious
remedy
for the plague

He trod an open and unfrequented path to
immortality,
in the ardent and unremitted exercise of Christian
charity.

May this tribute to his fame
excite an emulation of his truly glorious
achievements.



Jan 23.
/90.

The manager of the "Times"
has received Major Lambert's
letter which has been
handed to him by
the Editor, in reply
has to inform him
that he has no objection
to Major Lambert's
embodying the article
on John Howard ("Times"
Jan. 20.) in his paper
on Bedford, provided
that he acknowledges
the fact of his having
done so.

Major George Lambert.

JOHN HOWARD.

Extract from the "TIMES," January 20th, 1890.

On the 20th of January, 1790, John Howard, the philanthropist, died at Cherson,* in Russia, while engaged in visiting prisons and lazarettos. At this interval of 100 years a tribute may justly be paid to the great prison reformer. With all Howard's reputation—and his name is a household word among his countrymen—his

* Kherson, to the English traveller, is of particular interest as being the place near which the body of the philanthropic Howard reposes. The monument to his memory stands near the Church of the Assumption, opposite the old prison. It is a simple obelisk, with a sun-dial on one face and his medallion on another, and surrounded with acacias planted by Vice-Consul Stevens, 1858, the whole being enclosed by a high circular wall, with an iron gate in front. The inscription on the obelisk, in Russian and Latin, is as follows:—

HOWARD
died on the 20th January
in the year 1790
in the 65th year of his age.
Vixit propter Alios
Alios Salvos Fecit.

The monument is in tolerably good repair, although the first letter of the philanthropist's name has been obliterated by a mischievous person. His virtues, like his name, have nearly faded away from the remembrance of the local inhabitants.

Contrary to the usually accepted account of the death of Howard from prison-fever, caught in the zealous discharge of his self-imposed mission, Dr. Clark relates in his travels that, in the month of November, 1789, Howard was requested to visit a Mademoiselle During, who lived on the banks of the Dnieper, at a distance of ten miles from Kherson. In a light old-fashioned dress, in silk stockings, and without a great coat, he set out on horseback. The day was windy and cold, and he had a fall by the way. He caught a cold, which was followed by typhus fever, terminating in death. He was buried in a walled field in a village then called Dophinovka, after M. Dauphiné, its owners and now known as Stepanovka, in the valley called Versfchina, where two other Englishmen are also buried—6 versts north of Kherson. A monument stands over this grave in the shape of a block of marble, surmounted by a sun-dial, according to the last wish expressed to his friend, Admiral Priestman. The inscription on it is:—

JOHANNES HOWARD
Ad Sepulchram Stas
Quisquis es
Amici
1790

Murray's "Handbook for Russia."

precise title to honour has been generally misunderstood. He is loosely spoken of as a philanthropist who went from prison to prison and from hospital to hospital of Europe ministering to the wants of prisoners and sick persons. Howard was without doubt a good and charitable man. But the errand upon which he traversed Europe over and over again was not an errand of mercy in that sense. He had a far deeper conception of the philanthropist's function than to be a scatterer of doles. Nor was he one of those "Friends of Humanity" whose friendship to their fellow-creatures consisted in evolving grand theories out of a so-called "natural law." Howard really did for imprisonment what Beccaria and Bentham did for criminal legislation—placed it upon a humane and logical basis. To his credit, he applied to philanthropy, almost for the first time, a patient process of research and inductive reasoning. Howard was a Calvinist, a severe disciplinarian, and, like those Scotch missionaries whom Stanley has celebrated, he was impelled by an overmastering sense of duty. He first came into contact with the iniquities of our prisons as High Sheriff of Bedford, in 1773. In the preface to his "State of Prisons" he tells us how he discovered that untried prisoners who had never been brought to trial, or who had been acquitted, were dragged back to goal until they should pay the fees to the gaoler. He found that the justices had no power to pay the gaoler a salary in lieu of fees. "I therefore rode into several counties in search of a precedent; but I soon learned that the same injustice was practised in them; and, looking into the prisons, I beheld scenes of calamity which I grew daily more and more anxious to alleviate." So singular a phenomenon was Howard's zeal in that age of indifference to suffering, that he was summoned in the following year to give evidence before Parliament in committee, and received the thanks of the House. He had now fairly found his vocation. He devoted himself to a systematic visitation of the prisons of the Continent as well as of his own country. Within three years he had twice visited, sparing no toil and shrinking from no danger, all the English, Scotch and Irish prisons, and those of France, Germany, Holland and Flanders. His object was twofold—to drag out from these dark corners of the world into the light of day all that was oppressive and horrible, and to hold up for imitation whatever was worthy to be imitated. Yet his "State of Prisons," published in 1777, was not a string of harrowing revelations. It is a hard, dry, and rather crabbed collection of notes and statistics. Howard must have been

absolutely devoid of passion, as his domestic concerns show, and he was certainly not gifted with literary grace. But Howard's reputation had preceded his book, and had earned for it a friendly reception. The discoveries he made, indeed, needed no literary embellishment.

A popular belief prevails that this country—under Howard's guidance—showed the way of prison reform to every other. This is not the case. Howard found in the Low Countries what seemed to him admirably managed prisons; and there is no doubt that to Belgium and Holland we are indebted for some of the most important features of our system. With this exception, Howard had not much that was good to report of foreign prisons. In truth his experiences of our own had been sufficiently painful. The diversity abuses were inexhaustible. Some prisons belonged to manorial courts, and were farmed out to the gaoler, who lived on the fees, or on what he could make out of the sale of liquor. In some, the sexes were not kept separate; in others, the debtor and criminal herded together. In some the prisoner received no food, and was only kept from starvation by charity; in others there was no provision at all for sickness. They were pest-houses in which "gaol fever" annually claimed a multitude of victims. Novelists have borrowed telling scenes from the orgies of drunkenness and vice that went on in the worst-conducted. Dirty straw was the only bedding obtainable, filth was left to accumulate, and irons were the common lot of tried and untried prisoners. Imprisonment had not come to be regarded as a punishment in itself. It was merely a means of safe custody. The responsibility of the authorities ended when the prisoner was safe within the prison gates. Consequently there was no pretence of keeping the prisoner to labour. He was left to spend his time in drink, gambling and debauchery. In Bentham's words, "Weariness, revenge, and want preside over these academies of crime. All the inmates raise themselves to the level of the worst; the most ferocious inspires the others with his ferocity; the most cunning teaches his cunning to all the rest; the most debauched inculcates his licentiousness; all possible defilements of the heart and of the imagination become the solace of their despair." It was a melancholy picture, and one that might have filled Howard with a sense of powerlessness. But he worked on, until his countrymen were fully awakened to their neglect. Howard extended his travels to more distant countries, and revisited the old scenes of his labours. From an interest in

prisons naturally sprang an interest in hospitals and measures to prevent the spread of the plague. As might have been expected, his investigations in this direction contributed nothing to human knowledge.

It is easy now to point to the immeasurable gulf which separates the prisons of Howard's time, from the prisons of the present day. This result has not been won without tireless exertions by reformers whose enthusiasm Howard kindled, or without much fluctuation in public opinion. We have passed, for instance, through what has been called the "Turkey-carpet" stage, when people were afraid that prison was being made too attractive a place for the criminal. We have now learned by incessant experience to make imprisonment as deterrent as possible without sacrificing its reformatory influences. To say that finality has been reached in our prison administration would be a bold thing. But the work to which Howard applied himself with steady devotion is almost done for the present. Those who would imitate him might be recommended to try Siberia as a field of operations, if it were not for the strong probability that the philanthropist who attempted to pry into prisons there would quickly find himself on the wrong side of the frontier. Despotism governments do not behave as ceremoniously to foreign inquirers as they appear to have done in Howard's days. As for work at home, if there is any to be done in connection with the prison, it is mainly of a different kind altogether. The Howards of our era can apply their almost undivided energies to preventing crime, reforming the criminal, and assisting him, when discharged, to earn an honest living. One blot, and only one, upon our treatment of prisoners remains. A short time ago the public was horrified at the disclosures as to the arrangements which exist in some Assize towns for accommodating prisoners brought there for trial. It would be a practical celebration of the centenary of Howard's death to sweep away this last vestige of inconsiderateness and inhumanity. Let those of our municipal corporations that have not done so already rid themselves of the reproach. But this is nearly all. Every now and then an ex-convict tells the story of his imprisonment. We can understand the objections of such to the treadmill and crank; and possibly this kind of labour, whether divorced from production or not, is not to be accepted as ideal. We all remember Sydney Smith's picture of the untried prisoner "in the fifth month of "lifting up the leg, and striving against the law of gravity, supported "by the glorious information which he receives from the turnkey,

“that he has all the time been grinding flour on the other side of “the wall.” Nor is it incredible that the human instruments by which our prison system is worked should here and there be tempted into some petty tyranny, or, what is hardly less objectionable from the public point of view, some relaxation of discipline. Such imperfections will never be absent from any human system of punishments. All that can be said is that we are agreed upon the principles of prison treatment, and strive to reduce the element of error to a *minimum*. If Howard were living to-day, he would see the science of which he laid the foundations brought as near perfection as the changefulness of human opinion allows us to admit. He would see in our prison system one of the few social institutions out of which the most jaundiced politician can make no capital. We do not count the agitation about political prisoners, which is really a controversy about crime, not about punishment. The name of the man who founded this new order of things is rightly one which the child learns from his school-book to hold in honour. Rightly are we proud that the philanthropist whose unwearying efforts impelled civilized nations to civilize their prisons was a countryman of ours — *The Times*, January 20th, 1890.

JOHN BUNYAN (1628-1688)

was born at Elstow, near Bedford, in 1628. His parents were of very mean origin and tinkers. The tinkers were an hereditary caste in those days which was held in very low estimation. They were vagrants and pilferers, often confounded with gipsies, whom they nearly resembled. Bunyan's father was more respectable than most of the tribe. He had a fixed residence, and was able to send his son to the village school, where the boy was taught to read and write, and followed the trade of his father, (who was a Puritan, and Bunyan was strongly imbued with the principles of that sect.)

At the age of seventeen the lad enlisted in the Parliamentary army, and served during the decisive campaign of 1645, under General Fairfax, at the siege of Leicester. After a few months he left the army, returned home, and married a wife of a religious turn of mind, and she brought him as her portion some pious books, and now his mind excitable by nature, very imperfectly disciplined by education, and exposed without any protection to the infectious virulence of the enthusiasm which was then epidemic in England, began to be fearfully disordered, his favourite amusements were one after another relinquished, although not without many painful struggles, and he became a constant attender at prayer meetings and sermons; he had been one of the church bell ringers, but renounced that occupation, of which he was very fond, as an odious vice, but still for a time he ventured to go to the church tower and look on while others pulled the ropes.

To give up dancing on the village green was a still harder task, and some months elapsed before he had the fortitude to part with this darling sin. Now it was that Puritan Elstow talked of him as the eminently pious youth—but his own mind was more unquiet than ever.

At length, the clouds, which overshadowed his reason broke, and light became clearer and brighter than ever. Bunyan enjoyed peace and a cheerful confidence in the Mercy of God. Years elapsed before his nerves recovered their tone.

In 1655, he was admitted a member of the Baptist congregation, at Bedford, and partook of the Eucharist, and

while the cup was passing from hand to hand, he considering himself a wicked sinner, his reason for a short time fairly broke down, and he had to be restrained from uttering imprecations upon the heads of communicants.

After a lengthened period with the Baptists he began to preach, and his sermons produced a powerful effect upon his hearers. He was hearty and sincere, but illiterate; but he spoke to illiterate men. The severe training which he had gone through had given him such an experimental knowledge of all the modes of religious melancholy, as he never could have gained from book-reading, and his vigorous genius, animated by a fervent spirit of devotion, enabled him not only to exercise a great influence over the lower class, but even to extort the half-contemptuous admiration of scholars, and Dissenting ministers, (who were masters of the Greek and Latin languages) who affected to treat him with scorn.

Bunyan had been a preacher for five years prior to the Restoration of King Charles II., which put into the power of the cavaliers and the clergy all over the country to oppress the Dissenters, and Bunyan was the most hardly-treated of all. In November, 1660, he was thrown into Bedford jail; after some days he was convicted of holding unlawful assemblies and conventicles, and sentenced to be banished (no time being mentioned). There he remained with some intervals of partial and precarious liberty for twelve long years in a loathsome dungeon; his persecutors tried to extort from him a promise that he would not preach, but he answered that he was convinced that he was divinely set apart to be a teacher of righteousness, and that he was determined to obey God rather than man; he was therefore put into jail again, with a warning that if he persisted in disobeying the law he would be liable to banishment beyond the seas, and if he were found in England before the time of his sentence had expired that he would be hanged.

His answer to his oppressors was: "If you let me out to-day I'll preach to-morrow." His fortitude was extraordinary, because his domestic feelings were unusually strong. He had several small children, one a daughter, who was blind, and whom he loved with tenderness; and he was considered by his

sterner brethren as a too fond and indulgent parent. He could not bear even to let the wind blow upon her, "and now while I am in prison she must suffer cold and hunger—she must be beaten. Yet," added he, "I must, I must do it." While in prison he could do nothing for the support of his family, and he determined to take up a new trade. He learned to make long-tagged thread laces, and thousands of these articles were furnished by him to hawkers. While his hands were thus busy he had no employment for his mouth and lips, but he gave religious instruction to his fellow captives; formed them into a little flock, himself being their pastor. He indefatigably read the books which he possessed; his companions were the Bible and "Fox's Book of Martyrs." His knowledge of the Bible was so great that he might have been called a living Concordance, and on the margins of his "Book of Martyrs" are still legible the ill-spelt lines of doggerel, expressing his reverence for the brave sufferers and his enmity to the mystical Babylon (the State). He now began to write, but had not learned where his strength lay; but his writings were not altogether unsuccessful—they were coarse, but showed keen wit, an intimate knowledge of the Bible, and a vast and dearly bought spiritual experience, and they were well received by the humbler class of Dissenters.

Bunyan spent much of his time in controversy. He wrote against a sect called Quakers, whom he held in great abhorrence; but he adopted one of their peculiar fashions, he called November the eleventh month, and December, twelfth month, and so on.

He wrote against the Liturgy of the Church of England, to the effect that no two things had less affinity than, the form of prayer and the spirit of prayer. "Those," said he, with much point, "who have the spirit of prayer are all found to be in jail, and those who have most zeal for the form of prayer are to be found at the alehouse. The doctrinal Articles he warmly praised, and defended them against some Arminian clergymen* who had signed them.

* A powerful party of Christians so called from Arminius, a Professor of Divinity, at Leyden in Holland, who was the first person who opposed the

The most acrimonious of Bunyan's works is his answer to Dr. Edward Fowler, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, an excellent man, but not free from the taint of Pelagianism.*

doctrine of absolute predestination. They took the name of Remonstrants from a writing which was presented by them to the States General of Holland in 1609, wherein they reduced their peculiar doctrines to Five Articles:—

"1. That God from all eternity determined to bestow salvation on those who, He foresaw, would persevere unto the end in their faith in JESUS CHRIST; and to inflict everlasting punishment on those who should continue in their unbelief, and resist to the end of life, His Divine assistance; so that election was conditional, and reprobation, in like manner, the results of foreseen infidelity and persevering wickedness.

"2. That JESUS CHRIST, by his Suffering and Death, made an atonement for the sins of mankind in general and of every individual in particular, and that none but those who believe in Him can be partakers of that Divine benefit.

"3. That true faith cannot proceed from the exercise of man's natural faculties and powers, nor from the force and operation of free will: since man, in consequence of his natural corruption, is incapable either of thinking or doing any good thing; and that it is necessary, to his conversion and salvation, that he be regenerated and renewed by the operation of the HOLY GHOST, which is the Gift of God through CHRIST JESUS.

"4. That the Divine grace or energy of the HOLY GHOST begins, advances, and perfects all that can be called *good* in man, and that, consequently, all good works are to be attributed to God alone; that nevertheless, this grace, which is offered to all, does not force men to act against their inclinations, but may be resisted and rendered ineffectual by the perverse will of the impenitent sinner.

"5. That God gives to the truly faithful, who are regenerated by His grace, the means of preserving themselves in this state; and that the regenerate may lose true justifying faith, fall from a state of grace, and die in their sins.

"The Synod of Dort (Dordrecht) consisting of Dutch, French, German, and Swiss divines, which was held 1618, condemned these opinions."

Hook's Church Dictionary.

* Pelagians were heretics, who first appeared about the latter end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century. Pelagius, a Briton born in Wales, was the author of this sect. His name was Morgan, which signifies sea-born, and hence his Latin name from Pelagius—the sea, the ocean. He is said to have been a monk by profession, but probably was no otherwise such than as those, were so called, who led stricter lives than others within their own houses. It has been said that he was Abbot of Bangor, but of this there is no evidence, because the British monasteries were of much later date. It is said that St. Augustine gave him the character of a very pious man, and a Christian of no mean rank. According to the writings of St. Austin he travelled to Rome, where he associated with men of great learning. While sojourning in this city he instructed several young persons—Cælestius and Julianus, also Timasius and Jacobus, who afterwards rejected his doctrine and applied them-

Bunyan had a dispute with some of the chiefs of the sect to which he belonged. He held to the distinguishing tenet of the sect, but considered that the tenet was of no high selves to St. Augustine. During this time he wrote his Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles, and his Letters to Melania and Demetrius.

Pelagius being charged with heresy, left Rome and went into Africa, where he was present at the famous Conference, held at Carthage, between the Catholics and the Donatists. From Carthage he travelled into Egypt, and at last settled in Jerusalem. He was accused, before the Council of Diospolis in Palestine, where he recanted his opinions, but relapsing, and discovering the insincerity of his recantation, he was afterwards condemned by the several Councils in Africa, and by the Synod at Antioch. Pelagius died in the East, but where, is uncertain. His principal tenets, as we find them charged upon his disciple Cœlestius, by the Church of Carthage, were these:—

"1. That Adam was mortal by nature, and that whether he sinned or not he would certainly have died.

"2. That the consequences of Adam's sin were confined to his person, and that the rest of mankind received no disadvantage.

"3. That the Law qualified men for the Kingdom of Heaven, and was founded upon equal promises with the Gospel.

"4. That before the coming of the SAVIOUR, some men lived without sin.

"5. That new-born infants are in the same condition with Adam before his fall.

"6. That the general resurrection of the dead does not follow in virtue of our SAVIOUR's resurrection.

"7. That a man may keep the Commandments of God without difficulty, and preserve himself in a perfect state of innocence.

"8. That rich men cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven unless they part with all their estate.

"9. That the grace of God is not granted for the performance of every moral act; the liberty of will and information in points of duty being sufficient for this purpose.

"10. That the grace of God is given in proportion to our merits.

"11. That none can be called the sons of God but those who are perfectly free from sin.

"12. That our victory over temptation is not gained by God's assistance, but by the liberty of the will.

"This heresy of Pelagius, notwithstanding its condemnation, made its way into Britain, where its author was born; it was conveyed thither by one Agricola, the son of Severianus, a Pelagian Bishop of Gaul.

"The orthodox party were very diligent in opposing its progress, and for that purpose requested the Gallican Bishops to send over some persons of talent and eminence to manage the contest.

"Those chosen for this purpose were Germanus Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus Bishop of Troyes, who, arriving in Britain, held a famous Conference with the Pelagians at St. Albans, in which the latter were put to silence, and the people gave sentence by acclamation for Germanus and Lupus. The Pelagian error is noticed in the Ninth Article."

importance, and he joined in communion with Presbyterians and Independents. The sterner Baptists pronounced him a false brother. A controversy arose, which has long survived the original combatants. The cause which Bunyan had defended with rude logic and rhetoric against Kiffin and Danvers, was in our own times pleaded by Robert Hall, with an ingenuity and eloquence such as no polemical* writer has ever surpassed.

During the years that followed the Restoration, Bunyan's confinement was very strictly kept, but in 1660 he was less harshly treated. The distress of his family, his own patience, courage, and piety, softened the hearts of his persecutors; and Dr. Barlow (the Bishop of Lincoln) interceded in his favour, and applied for his release, and through the Bishop's intervention he was permitted to pass most of his time outside Bedford jail provided that he did not go out of the boundaries of the town. Bunyan owed his complete liberation to one of the worst acts of one of the worst governments which England has ever seen.

In the year 1667 to 1674 the Cabinet Council of King Charles II. was formed by Thomas Lord Clifford, Lord Astley (Earl of Shaftesbury), George Villiers Duke of Buckingham, Henry Lord Arlington, and John Duke of Lauderdale. These gentlemen were called the "Cabal," from the initial letters of their names—Clifford (C), Astley (A), Buckingham (B), Arlington (A), Lauderdale (L).

During their power in 1671, Charles II. concluded a treaty binding himself to set up the Roman Catholic religion in England. The first step that was taken towards that end was to annul by an unconstitutional exercise of his royal prerogative all the penal statutes against Roman Catholics, and in order to disguise his real design he annulled at the same time the penal statutes against Protestant Non-conformists.

Bunyan was therefore liberated and set free. Before his liberation from prison, he had begun to write a book which has made his name immortal. He requires no monument of

* Controversial; disputative, intended to maintain an opinion, a system in opposition to others. Greek *πολεμικός* from *πολεμος* War.

stone or brass, for wherever the English tongue is spoken, "Pilgrim's Progress" will remain to redound to his honour and fame. "Si monumentum requiris," read that book. He had no assistance. No person but himself saw a line of it until the whole was complete. He then consulted his friends: some were pleased, others felt scandalized. There had been a time when the cant of such fools would have made his mind miserable, but that time was past, for his intellect was firm and in a healthy state. "Pilgrim's Progress" came silently upon the world at large, and not a copy of the first and original edition was known to be in existence until recent times, when in 1875 a facsimile reprint appeared.

Bunyan rode every year to London, and there preached to large and attentive congregations. He went his circuit through the country, animating the zeal of his hearers, collecting and distributing alms, and making up quarrels. The magistrates gave him no trouble, but there was at one time, some danger of his again occupying his old quarters in Bedford jail.

In 1685, the rash and wicked enterprise of the Duke of Monmouth gave the Government a pretext for persecuting the Nonconformists, and scarcely one eminent divine of the Presbyterian, Independent, or Baptist persuasion remained unmolested.

Baxter was in prison, Howe was driven into exile, Henry was arrested. Two eminent Baptists, with whom Bunyan had been engaged in controversy, were in great peril and distress. Danvers* was in danger of being hanged, and Kiffin's† grandsons were hanged; Bunyan was forced to

* "Danvers was a hot-headed faint-hearted man, constantly on the brink of danger, by enthusiasm; constantly stopped on the brink, by cowardice. He had considerable influence among the Baptists, and having written largely in defence of their peculiar opinions, had drawn down on himself the severe censure of the most respectable Puritans, for attempting to palliate the crimes of Matthias and John of Leyden." "London Gazette," January 14th, 1683.

Macaulay, p. 526.

† "William Kiffin was a man of wealth and station; he did not live by preaching; his credit on the Exchange of London stood high, and he had accumulated an ample fortune. He was the grandfather of the two Hewlings, who of all the victims of the Bloody Assizes were the most lamented. The younger Hewling had been respited by that infamous Judge Jeffries. The

disguise himself as a waggoner, and preached to his hearers at Bedford in a smock-frock, with a cart-whip in his hand.

But a great change took place. King James II. was at open war with the Church, and found it fitting to court the dissenters, and some of the creatures of his Government tried to enlist the aid of Bunyan. They knew that he had written in praise of the indulgence of the year 1672, and hoped that he would be equally pleased with the indulgence of the year 1687; but fifteen years had made him wiser. The cases were not parallel: Charles II. was a professed Protestant, but died a Papist; James II., his brother, was a professed Papist. Charles' indulgence was disguised; James' indulgence was patent. Bunyan was not to be deceived. He exhorted his hearers to prepare themselves by prayer against the danger which menaced their civil and religious liberties.

Bunyan did not live to see the Revolution. In the summer of 1688 he undertook to plead the cause of a son with an angry father, and prevailed upon the father not to disinherit his son; but this good work cost him his life.

lad's sister was ushered into the royal presence by Churchill (afterwards Duke of Marlborough), and begged for mercy for her two brothers, but James II.'s heart was obdurate.

"The misery of the whole family had been great, but William Kiffin, the grandfather, was most to be pitied. He was seventy years old when he was left destitute—the survivor of those who ought to have survived him.

"The heartless and venal sycophants of Whitehall, judging by themselves, thought that the old man could be propitiated by the gown of an Alderman, and by some compensation in money, for the property which the grandsons had forfeited.

"Penn was employed in the work of seduction, but to no purpose, and the King determined to try what he could produce. Mr. William Kiffin was ordered to attend at the Palace, where he found a brilliant circle of noblemen and gentlemen assembled. James advanced towards him and said: 'Mr. Kiffin, I have put you down as an Alderman of London.' The old man, looking at the King and bursting into tears, said: 'Sir, I am worn out; unfit to serve Your Majesty or the City; and, Sire, the death of my grandsons has broken my heart. That wound is as fresh as ever; I shall carry it to my grave.' 'Mr. Kiffin,' said James, 'I'll find a balsam for that sore.' The words of a hard-hearted and low-minded man—which James II. was; unable to conceive any laceration of the affections for which a place or a pension would not be a full compensation." Kiffin's *Memoirs*. Luson's *Letter to Brooke*, in the Hughes' *Correspondence*. May 11, 1773.

Macaulay. pp. 226, 227, 349 (note).

Bunyan had to ride many miles through heavy rain; he came drenching wet to his lodgings on Snow Hill, Holborn. He was seized with a violent fever, and died in a few days at the house of his friend Mr. Strudwick, a grocer, at the sign of the "Star" (on August 31st, 1688). He was buried in the ground of Bunhill Fields, Finsbury; and the spot where he lies is still regarded by Nonconformists, with a feeling scarcely in harmony with the stern spirit of their theology.

British Encyclopædia, 9th edition.

JOHN BUNYAN'S LICENCE.

John Bunyan's Licence bears date the ninth day of May, 1672, "to teach as a congregational p'son, being of that p'suasion, in the house of Josias Roughed in the towne of Bedford or in any other place, roome, or house licenced by his Matie."

It is also certain that he went in and out of prison as he pleased; the jailor allowing him to go out each morning on his giving his promise to return in the evening, and from the old Meeting Book it is proved that he officiated continually at their religious services. It is a fact that he was, during his reputed imprisonment, allowed to go to London, visit friends, and superintend the publication of his books, so that his martyrdom was of the very slightest.

SAMUEL WHITBREAD.

Mr. Samuel Whitbread was the son of the wealthy brewer in Chiswell Street, City of London, by his wife Mary, third daughter of the first Earl of Cornwallis; he was born at the Brewery House in 1758. He inherited the brewery, and by a clause in his father's will he was compelled to hold a majority of the shares in his own hands. At his death he held five-eighths, which would of themselves have been a princely fortune; but in addition to this he possessed landed estates to the value of £20,000 per annum (upon the plantations of one of which alone he had expended £120,000) and large property in the funds.

Independent of his personal talents, Mr. Whitbread must in this country, have occupied a position among the untitled aristocracy, both on account of his wealth and his connections.

Great pains were taken with his education ; he was sent to Eton, and thence to St. John's College, Cambridge. On leaving the University he made the tour of Europe under the care of Mr. Coxe (afterwards Archdeacon), the Historian of the House of Austria.

In 1789 Mr. Whitbread married Lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the first Earl Grey, and in 1795 this lady's brother, Sir Charles Grey, married Mr. Whitbread's sister.

Mr. Whitbread entered Parliament in 1790 as a member for the Borough of Steyning in Sussex ; he continued a member of the House of Commons until his death in 1815, but during the greater part of his long service in the House he represented the town of Bedford, in which he possessed large property.

As might be well expected from his education under Archdeacon Coxe, and from his family connections, he attached himself to the then Whig Party, and during the life of the Right Honourable Charles James Fox, he continued a zealous and personally attached adherent of that statesman. After Mr. Fox's death, Mr. Whitbread, though he could scarcely be called the leader, was one of the men of influence in the ranks of the disorganised opposition, but he asserted a considerable degree of personal independence, and did not always act with his party, although he had received a liberal education.

He owed his political power rather to natural shrewdness, unquestioned sincerity, and vehement energy, than to extensive knowledge, polished oratory or argument. The unimaginative and commonplace character of his mind kept him secure from vacillation or inconsistency. His strong passion made him an active and assiduous member of the Legislature, and his benevolence and integrity of purpose lent a moral dignity to his oratorical displays.

Like most members of Parliament of his character, he could not elevate himself above mere personal conflict, and his vehemence of disposition gave his attacks an appearance

of asperity most alien to his native kindness of disposition. The most prominent event in his parliamentary career was the impeachment of Lord Melville which he himself conducted.

He was a warm advocate of popular education; a man of deep religious impressions, but there was nothing sectarian or gloomy in his religion, as may be inferred from the active part which he took in the affairs of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. In private life he was amiable and irreproachable.

He terminated his own life during a fit of temporary aberration of intellect, on the 4th of July, 1815. He had been for some time previously liable to attacks of a morbid despondency, under which he imagined himself the victim of conspiracies, the object of public ridicule and condemnation.

A local pressure on the brain, discovered on dissection, seemed to account sufficiently for this malady, without calling in the aid of excessive devotion to business.

RADCLYFFE.

The family of Radclyffe, says Sir Bernard Burke, C.B., LL.D., *Ulster King of Arms*, ed. 50, p. 1152, is of very early origin, decidedly Saxon, taking its name from the village of Radclyffe, in the county of Lancashire. William, the earliest of the family, of whom can be spoken with any certainty, was seated at Radclyffe Tower and was sheriff of Lancaster, A.D. 1194, during the reign of Richard I. 1189—1199, but prior to this time in the reign of Henry II. 1154—1186, the De Radeclive family played an important part in Lancashire history, for John, son of De Radeclive, married Margaret Chadderton, whose dower was the estate of Foxdenton, and the hall adjoining.

From this family is descended Sir William Radclyffe, who was taken prisoner by the parliamentary forces at the battle of Marston Moor, 1644, while fighting for King Charles I. Sheriff William married Cecilia Montebegon, Lady of Kirkland, and they were the great grand parents of Sir Richard de Radcliffe, Seneschal and Minister of the Royal Forests of Blackburnshire. He accompanied King Edward I. to the wars in Scotland, and received from that Prince in 1305,

the thirty-second year of his reign, a grant of a Charter of freewarren and free chase in all his demesne lands of Radclyffe.

Sir Richard had two sons William and John, from the "Great William" are descended the Barons of Fitzwalter, and the Earls of Sussex, of whom there were six, the last of whom, was the Sir Edward Radcliffe who built the Elizabethan House, and dying *s. p.* the title lapsed. The younger son John, was Knight of Ordshall, where his estate was situated. He was the ancestor of the Radclyffes of Fox-denton, and dying was succeeded by his son Sir John Radclyffe of Ordshall, who lost five sons in different battles within the two years 1598, and 1599, in which latter year his daughter, a Maid of Honour to Queen Elizabeth, died of grief for the loss of her brothers.

From this family is descended that Earl of Derwentwater, whose title became forfeited through his adherence to the Stuart cause, and who, with his companion in guilt, Lord Kenmuir, was beheaded on February 24th, 1716, and whose younger brother, Charles Radclyffe, Esq., was committed to the Tower for high treason, and who had assumed the forfeited title of the Earl of Derwentwater, was beheaded December 18th, 1746, for being concerned in the Rebellion of 1715, which was fomented by James Francis Edward Stuart, the Pretender, who, being a bastard, had no claim to the throne of England, and who landed at Peterhead in Aberdeenshire from France where he was called the Chevalier St. George. The rebellion was suppressed and the Pretender escaped to Montrose, and thence to Gravelines in France, February 4th, 1716. He died at Rome 30th December, 1765. This Pretender was the child of the Warming-pan plot, June 10th, 1688.

SIR JOHN MANDEVILLE.

Jehan de Mandeville, the name claimed by the compiler of an extraordinary book of travels, written in French and published between 1357 and 1371.

By aid of translations into many other languages, it

acquired great popularity, while a few interpolated words in a particular edition of the English version have gained for Mandeville in modern times the spurious credit of being the "Father of English Prose."

In his preface the compiler calls himself a knight, and states that he was born and bred in England, of the town of St. Albans; had crossed the sea on Michaelmas Day, 1322; had travelled by way of Turkey, in Asia Minor, Armenia the Little (Cilicia), and the Great Tartary, Persia, Syria, Arabia, Upper Egypt, and Lower Libya; great part of Ethiopia, Chaldœa, Amazonia, India the Less, the Greater and the Middle, and many countries about India; had often been to Jerusalem; and had written in romance as more generally understood than Latin.

In the body of the work we learn that he had been at Paris and Constantinople; had served the Sultan of Egypt for a long time in his wars against the Bedouins; had been freely addressed by him on the corruption of contemporary Christendom; had been vainly offered by him a princely marriage and a great estate on condition of renouncing Christianity, and had left Egypt under Sultan Melech Madabron, better known as Muzaffar or Mudhaffer, who reigned in 1346. Mandeville had been to Mount Sinai, and had visited the Holy Land with letters under the Great Seal of the Sultan, which gave him extraordinary facilities; had been in Russia, Livonia, Cracow, Lithuania, "*En roialme Daresten*," or Silistria, and many other parts near Tartary, but not in Tartary itself; had drunk of the Well of Youth at Polombe (Quilon on the Malabar coast), and still seemed to feel the better; had taken astronomical observations on the way to Lamary (Sumatra), as well as in Brabant, Germany, Bohemia, and still farther north; had been at the Isle called Pathen, in the Indian Ocean; had been at Cansay (Hangchow-fu in China), and had served the Emperor of China fifteen months against the King of Manzi, of Southern China; had been among the rocks of Adamant, in the Indian Ocean; had been through a haunted valley, which he places near Millestorach (Millescorath?), which is Malasgird in Armenia; had been at many great feats of arms,

but had been incapable of performing any himself; had been driven home against his will in 1357 by Arthritic gout (despite the well of youth!), and had written his book as a consolation for his "wretched rest." The paragraph, which states that he had his book confirmed at Rome by the Pope, is an interpolation of the English version. This recital is of itself enough to provoke some little questioning, and on investigating the sources of his book it is obvious that part at least of the personal history of Mandeville is mere invention.

Under these circumstances the truth of any part of that history, or even the genuineness of the compiler's name, become matter for serious doubt.

No contemporary corroboration of the existence of such a Jehan de Mandeville seems to be known. Some French MSS. not contemporary, give a letter of presentation from him to King Edward III., but this is so hopelessly vague that it might have been penned by any writer on any subject.

At Liege, in the Abbey of the Guillaumites, now pulled down, there certainly was in the 16th century a tomb of a man in armour said to be De Mandeville, but the old French inscription showed no name, and the arms were quite unlike those of the Mandeville's, Earls of Essex; while the Latin inscription, stating that the tomb was Mandeville's, and that he died at Liege, November 17th, 1371, was not only apparently much later in style, but confounds him with a physician called "ad Barbam," who is said to have met him first at Cairo and again at Liege, and helped him to write his travels.—*British Encyclopedia*, 9th edition, vol. xv.

BOADICEA.

Boodicea, Bondicea, or Boundricea (*Βονδουικα* in Dion Cassius) lived in the middle of the first century, and was the wife of Prasutagus, the king of the Iceni, a tribe of Britons inhabiting Norfolk and Suffolk. Prasutagus at his death bequeathed his wealth, which was very great, to his two daughters and to the Roman emperor, a device resorted to in those times, with the hope that it would confine the emperor

to a share of the deceased's possessions, and would rescue the remainder from his officers. Nero was at this time emperor; and Suetonius Paullinus, a general of great skill and energy, commanded in Britain. While Suetonius was occupied in attacking the Isle of Anglesey (then called Mona) Catus, the procurator or collector of the revenue, was guilty of great rapacity among the Britons in the east. He caused Boadicea, on whom the government of her nation had devolved by the death of her husband, to be scourged, and her daughters to be violated. The provocation for this outrage is not recorded. Probably it was the same which instigated the cruelty once inflicted by the English on native princesses in India; the government wanted money. The crime, however, brought its punishment. The Iceni and their neighbours, the Trinobantes (who dwelt in what is now Essex and Middlesex), flew to arms. They first attacked and destroyed the Roman colony of Camalodunum (Colchester), and defeated a Roman legion which was coming to the relief of the place, under the command of Petilius Cerialis. The insurgents also massacred the Romans at Verolanium (St. Albans), a considerable municipium, and at London, which was then famous for its commerce. Catus fled into Gaul. Tacitus says that the Romans and their allies were destroyed to the number of 70,000, many of whom perished under torture.

Suetonius hastened to the scene of this revolt, and abandoning London, which he had no means of defending, posted himself with an army of about 10,000 men in a narrow pass, his rear being guarded by a wood, A.D. 61. The Britons were commanded by Boadicea, who, in a chariot with her two daughters, went from one tribe to another exhorting them to fight bravely. They seem, however, to have met the usual fate of uncivilised armies. Without combination, encumbered by their very multitude, impeded by their women who surrounded them, and by their unwieldy chariots, they suffered a universal carnage. Tacitus, a nearly contemporary historian, estimates the destruction at 80,000 persons, an incredible number, although he says that the Romans did not spare even the women and the animals, who

added to the heaps of slain. Boadicea, he tells us, killed herself by poison. Dion Cassius, however (lxii. 12), who lived about a century after Tacitus, attributes her death to disease, if the passage is not corrupt. See Ernesti's note on Tacitus, xiv. 37. (Taciti Annal xiv. 31 etc.)

FRANCIS BACON.

Francis Bacon the youngest son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, was born at York House in the Strand, on the 22nd of January, 1561. In boyhood he was sprightly and intelligent beyond his years. The Queen, who was taken with the smartness of his answers, used to try him with questions on various subjects, and, it is said, that once when she asked him how old he was, his reply was ingeniously complimentary.

"I am just two years younger than your Majesty's happy reign."

Elizabeth expressed her approbation by calling the boy "her young Lord Keeper." Nothing is known of his early education. Having, however, parents of a superior order,—a father distinguished as a lawyer and a statesman, and a mother gifted with uncommon abilities, and eminent for her learning and piety. Bacon was placed favourably, from the first, for the formation of a learned and a virtuous character.

In his thirteenth year he was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge, and was placed under the tuition of Dr Whitgift, at that time Master of the College, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Here Bacon studied with diligence and success. The following fact, connected with his residence at college, has been thus stated and authenticated by Dr. Rawley, his chaplain and biographer. While he was commorant at the University, about sixteen years of age (as his Lordship hath been pleased to impart unto myself), he first fell into the dislike of the philosophy of Aristotle. Not for the worthlessness of the author, to whom he would ever ascribe all high attributes, but for the unfruitfulness of the way—being a philosophy (as his Lordship used to say) only strong for disputants and contentions, but barren of the production

of works for the life of man ; in which mind he continued to his dying day.

On leaving Cambridge, he entered Gray's Inn as a student of law. It is likely that his admission was in Michaelmas term, since it appears, from the records of the Inn, that he was made an antient of the 21st of November, 1576, an honour usually conferred on barristers, but bestowed on the sons of judges in consequence of their birth. His attendance in London not being required for some years, by the regulations of his Inn, Bacon was sent, in compliance with a custom, at the time common among the nobility, to study the institutions and manners of other countries.

He went accordingly in the suite of Sir Amias Paulet, the British Ambassador to the court of France. His superior sagacity and discretion soon induced the Ambassador to intrust him with a message of some delicacy and importance to the Queen ; a commission which Bacon executed so as to obtain the royal approbation. On his return to Paris he made frequent excursions into the country, spent some time in Poitiers, and busied himself in collecting information on the characters and resources of the different princes of Europe. His work "Of the State of Europe," written when he was nineteen years of age, displays conspicuously the industry, guided by deep penetration, which characterised his youthful mind.

His studies abroad were interrupted by the death of his father on February 20th, 1579. Returning to London on this occasion, he found himself the only one of his family, left unprovided for. Owing to the suddenness of his death, Sir Nicholas Bacon was prevented from purchasing an estate with the money set aside for his youngest son. Francis received only a fifth share of this money and thus began his career in comparative poverty which caused him straits and difficulties in his youth and was one of the greatest misfortunes of his life ; starting with insufficient means, he acquired the habit of borrowing and was never out of debt. It therefore became absolutely necessary that he should adopt some profession by which an adequate income would be yielded. He selected that of the Law and took up his residence at

Gray's Inn in 1579 as a student. He divided his time between Law and Philosophy, and soon became proficient in the former for he made that his principal study. When a student he sketched out his great work "Organon," which he entitled "Partus Temporis Maximus." The Greatest Birth of Time.

In 1580, he took the first step on his projected career, he applied through his uncle, Lord Burghley, for some post at court. His suit was well received by the Queen and the Lord Treasurer, but was unsuccessful, and this was a great disappointment to him; for two years he worked quietly at Gray's Inn, and in 1582 was admitted an outer Barrister, and his practice soon became considerable. In the year 1584 he gained admission to Parliament and took his seat as member for Melcombe Regis, Weymouth in Dorsetshire. In 1586 he was a Bencher. In 1588 he was appointed a reader to his Inn. He made a second application to his uncle, Lord Burghley, with a view of expediting his progress at the Bar. His uncle wrote to him a severe letter taking him to task for "arrogance and pride," qualities which Bacon vehemently disclaimed. What success attended this second application is unknown, but this much is certain that his advancement at the Bar was unusually rapid.

In this year Bacon made the acquaintance of the Earl of Essex (the impetuous and headstrong favourite of Queen Elizabeth) which was most displeasing to his uncle, Lord Burghley and his cousin Sir Robert Cecil, who represented him to the Queen as a speculative man, a dangerous individual therefore in the realities of business.

In 1589 he received from his uncle a valuable piece of patronage, the reversion of the Clerkship of the Star Chamber*

* So called from its roof being garnished with stars. This court of justice was called the Coke Star Chamber, not from the stars on its roof (which were obliterated before the reign of Queen Elizabeth) but from the Starra or Jewish covenants deposited there by order of Richard I. No "Star" was allowed to be valid except found in those repositories and here they remained until the banishment of the Jews by Edward I. The Court was instituted or revived in the third year of the reign of Henry VII., 1486, for trials by a committee of

an office worth £1600 a year, but it so happened that it did not fall in until 1609, twenty years after the gift, and Bacon made the remark that it was like another man's ground buttailing upon his house, which might mend his prospect, but did not fill his barn. A considerable period of his life had slipped away, but his affairs had not prospered and he had failed in obtaining the position which he looked upon as an indispensable condition of success. He therefore addressed a long and eloquent letter to Lord Burghley, giving a vivid picture of his mental state.

"I wax now somewhat ancient: one-and-thirty years is a great deal of sand in the hour glass. ——— I ever bare a mind (in some middle place that I could discharge) to serve her Majesty; not as a man born under Sol, that loveth honour; nor under Jupiter, that loveth business, (for the contemplative planet carrieth me away wholly); but as a man born under an excellent sovereign, that deserveth the declaration of all men's abilities. ——— Again the meanness of my estate, doth some what move me: for though I cannot accuse myself that I am either prodigal, or slothful, yet my health is not to spend, nor my course to get. Lastly, I confess that I have as vast comtemplative ends, as I have moderate civil ends: for I have taken all knowledge to be my province; and if I could purge it of two sorts of rovers whereof the one with frivolous disputations, confutations, and verbosities, the other with blind experiments, and auricular traditions, and impostures hath committed so many spoils, I hope I should bring in, industrious observations, grounded conclusions, profitable inventions and discoveries, ——— the best state of that province. This whether it be curiosity, or vain-glory, or nature, or (if one take it favourably) philanthropic, is so fixed in my mind as it cannot be removed,

the Privy Council, which was in violation of Magna Charta, as it dealt with civil and criminal causes, unfettered by the rules of law.

In the time of Charles I. it exercised its powers upon several bold innovators, who gloried in their sufferings and contributed to make the Government odious and contemptible. It was abolished in the year 1640. There were in this Court from twenty-six to forty-two judges, the Lord High Chancellor having the casting vote.

Hadyn's Dictionary of Dates.

and I do easily see, that place, of any reasonable commandment, doth bring commandment of more wits than of a man's own. ——— And if your Lordship shall find now or at any time, that I do seek or affect any place whereunto, any that is nearer to your Lordship shall be convenient, say then, that I am a most dishonest man. And if your Lordship will not carry me on, ——— this I will do, I will sell the inheritance and purchase some lease of quick revenue, or some office of gain, that shall be executed by deputy, and so give over all care of service, and become some sorry book-maker, or a true pioneer, in that mine of wealth."*

In this year 1589, he was made Counsel Extraordinary to the Queen. This appointment coupled with the Readership, showed the opinions held by those who were best able to judge of his professional acquirements, as the duty of reader was only discharged by men of eminence, and not by persons so young in years and practice as Bacon.

During the year 1591, Bacon was confidential adviser to the Earl of Essex, and his friendship for him was one of great interest, the exertions of Essex with the Queen in behalf of Bacon, were hearty but not sufficient, Burghley and Cecil stood in the way. The office of Solicitor General becoming vacant, Essex endeavoured to procure that place for his friend, but his exertions were baffled by the superior influence of the two Cecils, so as a panacea for Bacon's annoyance, Essex made him a present of Twickenham Park, worth about £1,800 in those days, and so beautiful a spot, that Bacon called it a Garden of Paradise. Essex well knowing that Bacon's friendship for him had been a bar to promotion.

In 1592, Bacon's elder brother, Anthony, returned from the Continent and was introduced to Essex, and the two brothers exerted themselves diligently in his service. Bacon's zeal, in attaching his brother, Anthony, to the interests of Essex, and braving the opposition of his own powerful relations in his cause, proves that in this instance, at least, selfish feelings did not influence his conduct.

* Spedding, *Letters and Life*.—Vol. I. pp. 108-9.

In 1593 a Parliament was called (and Bacon took his seat for Middlesex) to investigate the discovery of one of the Popish plots, that distracted the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Information had been given to the Government that King James VI. of Scotland was ruled by suspicious persons, and that the Spaniards, still smarting under the loss of their Invincible Armada (August 31st, 1588), were contriving other plots with the assistance of some English Papists. The conspiracy seemed to be formidable, and Government felt the necessity for increased supplies.

The great preparations of the Spaniards induced Elizabeth to conclude a league, offensive and defensive, with Henry IV., King of France; the project was, to invade England with a Spanish army by the way of Scotland. Bacon's conduct in this emergency seriously affected his fortunes, and the matter must be briefly told. The House of Commons having been duly informed of the State necessities, assented to a double subsidy and appointed a committee to draw up the articles. Before this was completed, a message came from the House of Lords, requesting a conference, which was granted. The Commons were informed that the crisis demanded a triple subsidy, to be collected in a shorter time than usual; that the Lords, could not assent to less than this, and desired to confer on the matter. This proposal of the Lords to discuss Supply, infringed on the privileges of the Commons. When the report of the Committee was read to the House, Bacon stood up and spoke against the proposed conference, pointing out that the communication from the Lords might be received, but that the actual deliberation on it, must be taken by themselves alone. His motion was carried, the conference was rejected.

The Lords lowered their demands and desired merely to make a communication, which, being legitimate, was assented to. The House had then before it the proposal for a triple subsidy, to be collected in three years, or as the motion ultimately was shaped, in four years instead of in six, as the ordinary custom would have been. Bacon approved the increased subsidy, but opposed the short period in which it was to be raised. He suggested that the people could not

meet such heavy demands, that discontent and trouble would arise, that the better method of procedure would be to raise the money by levy or imposition. His motion received no support, and the four years subsidy was unanimously passed ; Bacon was mistaken in thinking that the country would be unable to meet the increased taxation, and his conduct, though prompted by a pure desire to be of service to the Queen, gave great and well nigh ineradicable offence. He was accused of seeking popularity and was for a time excluded from Court.

Burghley, told him of the Queen's displeasure with his speech ; he offered no apology for what he had said, but expressed regret, that his motives should have been misunderstood, and that any offence should have been taken. Bacon soon felt that the Queen's anger was not to be appeased by such justification. In making an attack on him the Queen knew that she could count upon as allies Lords Suffolk and Arundel in the Anglo-Spanish party ; Phelips, Digges, and Sandys in the " Undertakers " party ; in personal enemy, Coke ; in office-hunters, Cranfield, Ley, and Williams. The Attorney Generalship had fallen vacant, and Bacon became a candidate for the office, his opponent and life-long antagonist, being Coke, who was then the Solicitor.

Essex espoused Bacon's cause, and pressed his claims upon the Queen but his impetuous pleading served to retard that which he most desired ; Lord Burghley in no way promoted his nephew's interest, he would recommend him for Solicitor General, but not for the Attorneyship. Doubtless Sir Robert Cecil's interest was against his cousin.

The Queen delayed the appointment, and Bacon's fortunes, as they then stood, could ill brook delay, for he was harrassed by debt, and at times so disheartened that he contemplated retirement from public life and devotion to abstract studies.

His first political production was published in 1594, it was observations upon a libel, entitled—"A Declaration of the Causes of the Great Troubles."

In March, 1594, it was understood that Coke was to be Attorney General. Essex mortified at this result threw all his energies to procure for Bacon, the Solicitorship, but his

method of dealing with the matter was wholly opposed to Bacon's advice. Essex irritated, instead of conciliating, the Queen. The offence was not pardoned, and after some delay the office was given to Serjeant Fleming, in October, 1595, and Essex insisted upon Bacon's acceptance of the land of Twickenham Park, which before he had hardly acquiesced in, to compensate in some degree for his disappointment.

Nor did Essex's kindness cease here; before sailing on the expedition to Cadiz, in 1596, he wrote letters to Buckhurst, Fortescue and Egerton, requesting them to use their influence towards procuring for Bacon, the vacant office of Master of the Rolls. The Cadiz expedition resulted in a brilliant success, and Essex became the idol of the army and the people. Bacon wrote to Essex, imploring him to desist in pressing his suit upon the Queen, through others, but to seek and secure the favour of the Queen alone, but this advice was unpalatable to Essex, and proved ineffectual.

They parted on bad terms, Bacon felt that the last Act of Essex was no less than madness. Essex then undertook a sea expedition to Ferrol and the Azores, but his unskilful and unlucky management made the affair abortive, but it in no way lowered his popularity with the people, but undoubtedly weakened his influence with Queen Elizabeth.

Bacon's affairs in the meantime had not been prospering; he had increased his reputation by the publication of his Essays,* the "Colours of Good and Evil," and the "Meditationes Sacræ" in 1597, but his private fortunes were in a bad condition. No public office had been found for him. He failed in his endeavour to retrieve his position, by a marriage with a wealthy widow, Lady Hatton, and in 1598 he was arrested for debt. He was gradually growing in the favour of the Queen; in the year 1594, he had been employed by her Majesty in her Crown affairs, and had acquired the standing of one of her Counsel learned in the law, but he held no commission or warrant and received no salary.

Essex's affairs were in a very critical state. Ireland was (as it ever has been and is) in rebellion, and it troubled the English Government to find out a definite course of policy to

* From my chamber at Graies Inn this 30th Januarie, 1597.

be pursued, or a leader by whom that policy might be carried out. Upon this question a violent quarrel between the Queen and Essex took place, the latter retired from Court and refused to be reconciled. At last he came out of his seclusion and was appointed to undertake the subjugation of the Irish rebels with a larger force of arms than has ever before been sent out of this country.

Soured by the attitude of the Queen, Essex endeavoured to carry out a treasonable design. His jealousy and ill temper was so roused that the only course open to him seemed to be, the obtaining a powerful military force, the possession of which would compel the Queen to reinstate him in her favour. He returned to England without the royal permission and was given into the custody of the Lord Keeper* at York House, in the Strand, London, where he remained until March, 1600. Essex's great popularity, and the general ignorance of the reasons for his imprisonment, stirred up a strong feeling against the Queen, who was reported to be influenced by Bacon, and such was the indignation raised against the latter by the people, that it was feared, that his life would be in danger.

The groundless character of Essex's accusation shows how little confidence should be reposed in popular versions of obscure occurrences.

It was necessary that Elizabeth should vindicate her proceedings, which she did, (but contrary to Bacon's advice) by a declaration from the Star Chamber which gave no satisfaction, and it was expedient to do that which Bacon had recommended, that the Earl should have a fair trial, which accordingly took place before a body of Her Majesty's Councillors, and Bacon had a subordinate and unimportant part in the accusation, and Essex was not hurt by his action in this matter. But Bacon was not aware of the true character of the transactions in which Essex had been engaged. Essex's plot was forced on prematurely, by the suspicions excited at Court, and the rash attempt to rouse the City of London, February 8th, 1601, which proved a

* Sir Nicholas Bacon.

complete fiasco, the leaders were arrested on the same night and thrown into prison.

Although the rising might appear to be an outcome of frantic passion, the private examinations of the prominent conspirators disclosed to the Government a plot so widely spread, involving many of the highest in the land, that it would have been perilous to have pressed, home accusations against those, who were implicated.

When ruin was closing in about Essex, Bacon did not desert him, risking and encountering the displeasure of the Queen, on behalf of a kind and generous friend, (of whose conduct he did not approve). Bacon did every thing that ingenious remonstrance and affectionate intreaty could do with her Majesty, on behalf of the ill advised Earl; by command of the Queen, Bacon appeared as one of her Majesty's Counsel against his former friend.

Coke was the leading Counsel, but managed the case with great want of skill, allowing the thread of the evidence to escape notice, permitting the prisoners to indulge in irrelevant justifications, distracting attention from the real question at issue.

Bacon then arose and pointed out that the Earl's plea of having done nothing, save that which was absolutely necessary to defend his life from the machinations of his enemies, was weak and worthless, because these enemies were purely imaginary, so that this excuse made by the Earl was false.

Everything that could be done for Essex, Bacon did, until the nature of his design was made apparent to him, and he repeated to the Earl that his devotion and respect were for the Queen and State, not for any subject, and that friendship could never take rank above loyalty.

By his official position, compulsion was laid upon him and the risk of being implicated in the treasons of his patron, forced him to comply with the Queen's orders, but it gave him the opportunity of softening down the severity of the accusation, and thus securing the interests of his friend, at Court. Bacon as Queen's Counsel had to draw up a declaration of the treasons of Robert, Earl of Essex; he did his work with bitterness and severity, but he softened down his

statement to such a degree, that it was reckoned too mild for the nature of the case. However, it was sent to Elizabeth for her perusal and having read it through, she exclaimed "I see old love is not easily forgotten."

Bacon, when Essex was brought to the bar for his trial, not only pleaded against him, but published a declaration of his treasons, and viewed them as things ought to be. In connexion with the mildness of his manner in conducting the case, his choice of a part, the least prominent possible, the disinterestedness and dexterity, with which he urged upon the Queen the pardon of Essex, appear to place his conduct in a less equivocal light than that in which it has been shewn by many of those writers, who have narrated the story and the attendant circumstances.

In his own vindication, Bacon wrote a letter to one of the Earl's friends, stating his conduct and claiming merit to himself, on grounds which, perhaps will not satisfy those, who require in political friendships, the disinterested and self-sacrificing feelings of private attachment.

Bacon's conduct was much censured and he was threatened with assassination. Essex was tried for treason, in Westminster Hall, February 19th, 1601 n.s., condemned and executed on the 25th of the same month.

Elizabeth died on the 24th March, 1603, aged 70 years. Essex's tenure of royal partiality lasted with some intermissions until he destroyed himself by his own hot headedness and violence. He was beheaded, for a frantic attempt to excite an insurrection against the Government in 1601. Elizabeth signed his death warrant, but never recovered from the shock, in fact she loved him so entirely, that she sealed her own sentence of death.

Bacon's private fortunes during the period after the death of Essex were not in a flourishing condition. He had obtained a grant of £1200 from fines, but his debts were sufficient to swallow up this sum and much more, and although he was trusted by Elizabeth, and on good terms with her, he seems to have seen that he had no chance of advancement.

On her death in 1603, King James VI. of Scotland, and

I of England, followed by undisputed succession, and this gave Bacon new hopes. He used every means in his power to bring himself under the notice of the new King, writing to all his friends at the Scottish Court, and to James himself. Bacon obtained a personal interview, but was not satisfied with it. The King confirmed all those who had held Crown offices, under Elizabeth in their situations, but Bacon not holding his post by royal warrant was practically omitted, he was, however, continued by the King, by special order as Learned Counsel Extraordinary, but little, or no law business was entrusted to him.

His cousin, Lord Cecil, obtained for him the dignity of knighthood, which, contrary to his inclination, he received along with about 300 other gentlemen, on 23rd July, 1603.

In March, 1604, Parliament met, and during its short session, Bacon's hands were full of work. Prerogative and privilege came more than once into collision; the abuses of purveyance and wardship were made matters of conference. King James was irritated by the objections brought against his favourite scheme, of the union of the two countries, England and Scotland, and by the attitude taken up by the House with regard to religious affairs, (but what share Bacon took in these discussions is not actually known,) but his name appears as the reporter of the committees on special subjects, and his attitude with regard to the union question, recommended him to the King. He was shortly after formally installed as King's Counsel learned in the law, receiving the salary of £40 and a pension of £60 per annum. He was one of the commission to treat of the conditions necessary for the union, and the admirable manner in which the duties of that body were discharged were mainly attributable to his influence and complete mastery of the subject. From his position, early training, and natural inclination, he held as his ideal of government—the Elizabethan system.

That the King was the supreme power, the centre of law and justice, and his prerogative could not be infringed. Parliament was a body called together to consult with the King on emergencies (*circa ardua regni*) and to grant supplies. King and Parliament make up the State, but the former is First in

nature and importance. The duty of the statesman was to carry out the Royal Will in as prudent a manner as possible. It is hard in the reign of our Queen Victoria to put ourselves in this point of view, and it is with difficulty that we can understand how such a man as Bacon could hold a theory so inadequate; but he was not singular in his opinions, and he was doubtless most sincere. In the second Parliament there was no scope for the exercise of his powers. The Gunpowder Plot aroused warmer feelings in the House of Commons towards the King; they passed severe laws against recusants, granted a triple subsidy, and continued the collection of grievances concerning which they were to move. Bacon was now fairly brought into relations with King James, and his prospects began to look brighter.

It was during this session—successful in his profession, and a favourite of the people—that he added to his good fortune by marrying a rich wife, Alice, daughter of Benedict Barnham, Esq., a wealthy alderman of London, of whom he had written some years before to his cousin, Cecil, “a handsome maiden to my liking.” Nothing is known of their married life.

His address to the King, stating the grievances of the nation, an undertaking intrusted to him by the House of Commons, did not lessen his influence at the Court, but increased his popularity with the people.

The third Parliament was chiefly occupied with the commercial and legal questions arising out of the proposed union, in particular with the question of the *post nati*. Bacon argued ably in favour of this measure, general feeling was against it; but the case being brought before the law courts, was settled as the King wished. Bacon's services were rewarded in June, 1607, by the office of Solicitor-General, thus, at last, he had gained one step upon the ladder of advancement; but his promotion was slow, and many years passed before he gained another step.

In 1610 the fourth Parliament met; prerogative, despite Bacon's advice, clashed with liberty. He took a considerable share in the debates, upheld the prerogative, while possessing the confidence of the Commons.

The Earl of Salisbury died, and the King undertook the

duties of his office. Bacon made application for the Mastership of the Wards, which was vacant by the death, but was not successful in obtaining the position, as it was given to Sir George Carey, on whose death, shortly after his appointment, Bacon renewed his application.

In 1613 Sir Thomas Fleming, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, died, and a vacancy occurred. Bacon proposed to King James that Sir Edward Coke should be promoted from his place in the Court of Common Pleas to Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and accordingly in October, 1613, he received his patent for that high office, and a few days after, by special order from the King, took his seat at the Board as a Privy Councillor. Sir Henry Hobart was chosen as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Bacon was made Attorney-General. This plainly shows the close relations between the King and Bacon, who had become a confidential adviser on most occasions of difficulty. His adherence to the royal party was noticed and commented upon, for it was said amongst the law officials "that little good is to be expected by this change, for Bacon may prove a dangerous instrument."

Bacon wrote to the King advocating the calling of another Parliament, the advice which he offered was prudent and sagacious, and might have been carried out by a man of Bacon's tact and skill, but it was one-sided and showed a want of appreciation as to the true relation of King, Parliament, and People, but James would not adopt or carry out Bacon's policy.

Parliament met in April, 1614, by no means in a frame of mind suitable to the King's purposes. The House was enraged at the project of King, Parliament, and People, and to the proposers Sir Dudley Digges, Phelips, and Sandys, were given the name of "The Undertakers;" objection was taken to Bacon being elected or serving as a member while holding the Office of Attorney-General, and although an exception was made in his favour, it was resolved that no Attorney-General should in future be eligible for a seat in Parliament.

No supply was granted; the King's necessities were increased, the Bishops suggested a voluntary contribution;

this idea was eagerly taken up by the noblemen and crown officials. The scheme was extended so as to take in the whole kingdom, but lost its voluntary character, and the means taken to raise the money was not that which Bacon would have recommended, being calculated to stir up discontent, and after a stormy session Parliament was dissolved in the month of June.

The general dissatisfaction, received a somewhat unguarded and intemperate expression, in a letter sent to the Justices of Marlborough, by a gentleman of the neighbourhood, a Mr. St. John, in which he denounced the attempt to raise funds in this way as contrary to law, reason, and religion, as constituting in the King, personally, an act of perjury, involving in the same crime, those who contributed, and subjecting all parties to the curses levelled by the Church at such offences. St. John was summoned before the Court of Star Chamber, for slander and treasonable language, and Bacon (*ex-officio*) acted as public prosecutor, and St. John was fined £5000 and imprisonment for life, but it was not inflicted and never intended to be carried out, the prosecution being all that was desired. St John remained a short time in prison, and after making a full apology, submission, and paying the fine, was released, but the offence was clear; the law was undoubted and no particular sympathy was excited for the culprit, and Bacon did only that, which anyone in his position would have done, in those days.

In the early part of the year 1616, Ellesmere, the Lord High Chancellor was dangerously ill, and Bacon wrote a letter to the King, proposing himself for the office should it fall vacant, stating frankly the value that his services would be, and he received a distinct promise of the reversion of the office, but Lord Ellesmere recovered, and the matter stood over for a time. He proposed that he should be made a Privy Councillor to give him a more recognised position of Adviser to the King, and on the 9th of June, he took the oaths and his seat at the Council Board. Sir Edward Coke, (Bacon's great rival), desiring to limit the prerogative by law and precedent, made himself an object of particular dislike to James I., and on two points came into open

collision with the King's rights. The first case was an action of præmunire,* against the Court of Chancery, certain parties

*Præmunire is either taken for a writ so called, or for the offence whereupon the writ is granted. The church of Rome, under pretence of her supremacy and the dignity of St. Peter's chair, took upon her to bestow most of the bishoprics, abbacies and other ecclesiastical livings of worth in England by mandates, before they were void; pretending therein a great care to see the church provided of a successor before it needed. These bulls were called gratiæ expectativæ, or provisiones. These provisions were so frequent that at last King Edward III., not digesting so intolerable an encroachment, made a statute in the twenty-fifth year of his reign—stat. 5, cap. 22, and another, stat. 6, cap. 1, and a third in the twenty seventh year of his reign—against those that drew the King's people out of the realm, to answer matters belonging to the King's Court; and another anno twenty-eight, stat. 2, cap. 1, 2, 3, 4; whereby he much restrained this usurpation of the Pope, who still continued these provisions, when King Richard II. made a statute against them in the twelfth year of his reign—cap. 15, and another in the thirteenth year, stat. 2, cap. 2—ratifying the 1st statute of King Edward III., appointing perpetual banishment, forfeiture of lands, tenements, goods and chattels, as the punishment of all those who offended against it. In the sixteenth year of his reign, to meet more fully the shifts invented to defraud these statutes, he set forth the offence more particularly with the same punishment for it as in the former statute. *Cæterum neque jus regni cuiquam in terris Imperatori, Pontifici, Principi, acceptum referunt Reges Angliæ.*—*Repub. Angli.* lib. 1. cap. ix.

Henry IV., vexed by these and other abuses, not fully met in the former statutes, in the second year of his reign—cap. 3 and 4—added new cases, and laid upon the offenders the same censure. Also in the ninth, Henry IV., cap. 8, and third, Henry V., cap. 4, concerning which and the danger that hath been threatened thereby with the necessity thereof since the uniting of the supremacy, both ecclesiastical and temporal, in the King. See Sir Thomas Smith, *De Repub. Angli.* lib. 3, cap. 9.

Later statutes cast this punishment upon other offenders. See statute, 1, Elizabeth, cap. 1, upon him that denies the King's supremacy a second time; and the statute, 13 Elizabeth, cap. 2; upon him that affirms the authority of the Pope, or refuses to take the oath of supremacy; and the statute, 13 Elizabeth cap. 1, such as be seditious talkers of the inheritance of the crown, or affirms that the Queen be an heretic; and the statute of 13 Charles II., cap. 1, upon such as affirm that the Parliament, begun at Westminster, November 3rd, 1640, was not dissolved; or that there is any obligation by oath, covenant, or engagement, whatsoever, to endeavour a change of government, either in church or state; or that both or either House of Parliament have or hath a legislative power without the King, and the word præmunire is applied most commonly to the punishments first ordained by the statutes before mentioned for such as transgressed them; but in later times imposed upon other offences, for where it is said, "That any man for an offence committed shall incur a præmunire;" it is meant that he shall incur the same punishment which is inflicted upon those who transgress the statute made 16 Richard II., cap. 5, commonly called the Statute of Præmunire.

having obtained redress in the Chancellor's Court after the cause had been tried in the Court of King's Bench. With all Coke's learning and ingenuity he could not induce the jury to bring in a bill against the Court of Chancery.

The other case was that of Commendams, more important in itself,* and in the circumstances connected with it. Now the case was this, a serjeant-at-law in the discharge of his duty as an advocate in the Court of Common Pleas was supposed to have used matter in his argument which tended to question the royal prerogative; upon this the King required the judges to proceed no further in the case without his warrant. He wrote to Bacon directing him to inform the twelve judges of his pleasure, "that they should delay judgment until after discussion of the matter with himself." Bacon communicated first with Coke, who in reply desired that similar notice should be given to the other judges, who conferred upon this message. He took no notice of the same,

As to the etymology of the word *præmunire*, it means the strength given to the crown by these former statutes against the usurpation of a foreign power. Others think that it comes from the verb *præmonere*; according to the proverb, "He that is well warned is half armed." A reason may be gathered from the form of the writ, "*Præmunire facias præfatum præpositum, &c. J. R. procuratorum, &c., quod tunc sint coram nobis, &c.,*" which words can be referred to none but the parties charged with the offence—Cowell's *Interpreter*, 1607.

* Commendam is a Latin word used in ecclesiastical law, in England it means a benefice or living, commended by the King or head of the Church, to the care of a clergyman to hold until a proper pastor is provided. This may be temporary or perpetual.—*Blackstone*.

Also the trust or administration of the revenues of a benefice given to a layman, to hold as a deposit for six months, in order to repairs, &c., &c.; or to an ecclesiastic to perform the pastoral duties until the benefice is provided with a regular incumbent.—*British Encyclopædia*.

Commendam is a benefice, that being void is commended to the care of some sufficient clerk (Clericus) to be supplied until it may be conveniently provided of a pastor; and that this was the true original of this practice may be read at large in *Durandus de Sacris Ecclesiæ Ministeriis et Beneficiis*, lib. 5 cap. 7. He to whom the church is commended hath the fruits and profits thereof, only for a certain time, and the nature of the church is not changed thereby, but is as a thing deposited in the hands of him to whom it is commended, who hath nothing but the custody thereof, which may be revoked. When a parson is made a bishop, there is a cession of his benefice by the promotion; but if the King gives him power to retain his benefice, he shall continue parson and is said to hold it in commendam. Hobes rep. fol. 144 Latches rep. 236 and 237.—See *Ecclesia Commendata in Gloss*, 10 Script.—Cowell's *Interpreter*, 1607.

but resolved at once to give judgement and sent a letter in their united names to the King, announcing what they had done, and declaring that it was contrary to law and to their oath for them to pay any attention to a request that their decision should be delayed, being a common dispute between party and party, it was their duty to proceed notwithstanding the King's mandate.

The King was indignant at this encroachment, and acting on the advice of Bacon, held a council, June 6th, 1616, to which the judges were summoned and attended. King James entered at great length into the case, censuring the judges for the offensive form of their letter, and for not having delayed judgment upon his demand, solely because he himself was the party concerned, and they were personally reprimanded by the King. All of them, with the exception of the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Edward Coke, acknowledged their error and craved pardon for their offence on their knees, imploring forgiveness for the manner of their letter.

Coke attempted to justify the matter contained in it, upon the substantial point, contending that the King's command for staying the proceedings was a delay of justice contrary to law and the judges' oath. The point of law was argued by Bacon and decided by the Lord Chancellor, Thomas Egerton,* in favour of the King.

After much discussion the Lords of the Council, through the Chancellor, put the question to the judges individually—"Whether if at any time in a case depending before the judges where the King believed his prerogative or interest concerned, either in power or profit, and required the judges to attend him for advice and consult with him, ought they not to stay proceedings until his Majesty had consulted them?"

To this all gave assent except Coke, who said "That when the case happened he would do that which should become an honest and just judge."

Bacon's conduct throughout the affair has been blamed, but as Attorney he was simply fulfilling his duty in obeying the command of the King, and in laying down the law on the disputed point he was merely speaking his own convictions

* Created Baron Ellesmere, June 29th, 1603.

yet strengthening the hands of an absolute monarch; and a somewhat similar case is that of the writ "*De Rege inconsulto*," brought forward by Bacon.*

It appeared to him justifiable and right because the prerogative would be defended and preserved intact. Bacon's services to the King's cause were most important, and as he had acquired great favour with Sir George Villiers, the King's new favourite, his prospects looked brighter than before.

In 1616 he was engaged in the Overbury† and Somerset‡ case, the mysterious crime, supposed to be concealed, under the obscure details of the case, but which has cast a shadow of vague suspicion, on all who were concerned in it. About this time Bacon became acquainted with the King's new favourite, Sir George Villiers who stood high in the King's good graces.

Coke stands out in a different light; his answer was indefinite, and the force of it was much weakened by his assent to the second question of the King, and the general spirit of resistance exhibited by him to incroachment.

The Court despaired of bending the stubborn integrity of the Chief Justice, who was troublesome to the King, who (wrongly) resolved to remove him from a position where he could do so much harm. On the 26th June, Coke was called before the Council to answer certain charges, frivolous accusations, some founded upon alleged malversations, while he was the Attorney-General, to all of which he returned distinct answers, and to give an account for his conduct in the *Præmunire* question. He acknowledged his error on that head and made little or no defence.

Four days later, June 30th, he was again summoned to appear before the Council. He was reprimanded, sequestered from the Council Table during the King's pleasure, removed

* See letters and life, vol. V., pp. 233 and 236.

† Sir Thomas Overbury was murdered by slow poison in the Tower, at the instigation of John Carr, Viscount Rochester, and the Countess of Essex; Earl of Northampton, Sir Thomas Monson, and Sir Gervase Elways were parties to the crime. Bacon called him "*An Oracle of Direction*."

‡ The Countess of Somerset was pardoned as an "*Accessory*" before the fact; died the most deplorable and "*loathsome*" of beings.—Wilson, in *Kennet*, vol. 2, p. 699.

from the bench, and enjoined not to ride the summer circuit as Judge of Assize, and ordered to employ his leisure in revising many "extravagant and exorbitant opinions" set down in his Book of Reports. During the vacation he was again summoned before the Council to answer to a list of twenty-eight objections to doctrines contained in his reports, which Chamberlain in his letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated 26th October, 1616, says, "are so weak or so well answered that they were speedily reduced to five." In November following he received his writ of discharge from the office of Lord Chief Justice, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Montague.

Coke's *excessive popularity* was his downfall. Bacon through the instrumentality of the King's Cup Bearer Sir George Villiers* (afterwards Duke of Buckingham), was on the 7th of March, 1617, constituted Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, and according to his custom he strove earnestly to guide, by his advice, the conduct of this new and young favourite. He prescribes in his letters to Villiers, the course of action suitable to the position which the latter held. "By no means be you persuaded to interpose yourself by word or letter, in any cause depending in any court of justice: nor suffer any man to do it and dissuade the King himself from it, for if your speech or letter should prevail, it perverts justice; but if the judge be so just and of so undaunted a courage (as he ought to be as not to be inclined thereby) yet it always leaves a taint of suspicion and prejudice behind it."

It was probably about this time, that Villiers had a real sense of the duties attaching to his position, as Gentleman of the Bed Chamber, and was willing to be guided by a man of such wisdom as Bacon, who approved in some respects of that which the former did, for the latter wrote in his Essay "On Ambition":—"It is counted by some, a weakness in princes to have favourites; but it is of all others the best remedy

* Villars, pervetusta et nobilis familia in Comitatu Leicestriæ; sed equestris tantum ad tempora usque Jacobi Regis, que Georgium quarto genitum filium Georgii Villars de Brokesby Equetis summis honoribus extulit et tandem Ducem Buckinghamia creavit: cujus gratia fratus quoque illius honoribus cumulati. Joannes Vice comitatus titulo Purbeck: Christoforus Comitatus Anglesewæ.—Smith's *De Republica Anglicorum*, 1630, page 370.

against ambitious great ones; for when the way of pleasuring leith by the favourite, it is impossible any other should be over great."

Bacon had now very nearly gained the height of his ambition. He was first law officer in the Kingdom, the accredited Minister of his Sovereign, on the best terms with the King and his favourite, and his onward course seemed prospering and secure, when a slight storm opened his eyes to the frailty of the tenure by which he held his position.

Sir Edward Coke was in disgrace, by no means in despair, and thought that he might ingratiate himself in the favour of Sir George Villiers, by the marriage of his daughter, Miss Francis Coke with a large fortune, to Sir John Villiers, brother of the Marquis, who was penniless or nearly so. The match was distasteful to Lady Hatton and her daughter, and Bacon manœuvred to prevent it, fearing that it might increase the power of his great rival, and involve him in perplexity—so he thought the marriage most unsuitable, and sided with Lady Hatton. He explained to the King and Buckingham the reasons why he opposed the match, but found to his surprise that the anger of both was kindled against him, and bitter letters of report passed between the King and favourite; and the Lord Keeper fearing he might be disgraced and removed from his office, changed his course, advanced the match by every means in his power, and by an humbled apology appeased the indignation that had been raised against him.

It was a sharp lesson for him, but matters went again smoothly, the lady was married, became Viscountess Purbeck, and Bacon's affairs prospered; but it brought on him the resentment of Villiers. He offended King James by thinking ill of the projected marriage between Charles, Prince of Wales, and Maria Anne, daughter of Philip IV., Infanta of Spain, which not being agreed to, the match was broken off.

He acted in his high office in a way beneficial to the State, refusing several times to put the seals to the improvident grants made to Buckingham; but his great prudence enabled him to gain the favour and friendship which he had lost by these proceedings.

It was not long before an opportunity occurred for Sir George Villiers to show his gratitude and favour towards Bacon. His advancement continued, for, on the 4th January, 1618, he reached the summit of his ambition in being appointed Lord High Chancellor of England; and, by letters patent dated from Wanstead July 11th, 1618, he was created Baron Verulam, and took his seat in the House of Lords.

Thomas Egerton, Baron Ellesmere, the old and outgoing Lord Chancellor, had desired that Bacon should be his successor, and Bacon, himself, wrote to the King, soliciting the high honour on the grounds of his fitness for the office, being the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, and the King's conscience, and the ready flexibility with which he would accommodate himself to the will and wishes of his Sovereign. James, himself, put the seals of office into Bacon's hand, and gave him advice, "Never to seal anything without mature deliberation; to give righteous judgment between party and party with despatch."

Not to extend the royal prerogative too far, Bacon then entered on his high office with great pomp, and delivered a long and eloquent speech on the advice which the King had given to him, in the presence of a great number of the nobility.

The letter of thanks which he wrote to Buckingham (who had exerted himself on Bacon's behalf) is truly eloquent and beautiful. Anxious to secure the golden opinions of the profession, the new Lord Chancellor invited the judges to a dinner, and requested that since it was not his intention to extend the power of the Court of Chancery beyond its ordinary limits, they would inform him, if ever they were dissatisfied with his proceedings, in order to a mutual and satisfactory adjustment of matters. He introduced some reforms into his Court. He caused two reporters to be appointed, with a salary of £100 each, and made some judicious arrangements in regard to hearing counsel and cases.

Bacon, Lord High Chancellor, took his seat with great pomp in the Court of Chancery, and delivered a weighty and impressive opening discourse. He entered with great vigour upon his new labours, and in less than a month he was able

to report to his patron, Earl Villiers, now created Marquis of Buckingham, that he had cleared off all outstanding Chancery cases.

On the 19th November, 1619, he got the farming of the Alienation Office. During the next year he was made Viscount St. Albans. In the beginning of 1620, he kept his birthday with great state. Ben. Johnson, the poet, celebrated his virtues, according to the fashion of the day, in some lines which were part of a masque performed on the occasion. Bacon chose this favourable moment for the publication of his *Organun*, which had been the chief concern of his early thoughts and of his matured mind. In the midst of a rising career of professional, political, and literary effort, Bacon was moulding and shaping his great work, listening with an anxious ear to the remarks of the learned of his times, and at the height and maturity of his genius, when possessing all the highest honours which talent and learning could give him in his native land, we find this "servant of posterity" committing to its slow but infallible tribunal, a work which, in reference to science, has been universally pronounced—the judgment of reason and experience in this rare instance, confirming the boastings of youth—the greatest birth of time!! This work was the gradual formation of a creating spirit; it was wrought up and polished with the sedulous industry of an artist, who labours for posterity. Bacon copied his work twelve times; revising, correcting, and altering it year by year before it was reduced to that form in which it was committed to the press. The reception of the work was such, as in the nature of things, must always be given to a production of its class—mingled ridicule and admiration. The geniuses laughed at it, and men of talent and acquirement, whose studies had narrowed their minds into particular channels, incapable of understanding its reasonings and appreciating its originality, turned wits for the purpose of ridiculing the new publication of the philosophic Lord Chancellor. Dr. Andrews, a forgotten wit of those days, perpetrated a vile pun upon the town and title of St. Albans, by saying, in some doggerel verses, that it was on the high road to "Dunce-table," i.e., Dunstable, and,

therefore, appropriate to the author of such a book. Mr. Secretary Cuffe said that it was a book which a fool could not have written, and a wise man would not. The pedantic King described it as like the peace of God—which passeth all understanding. Bacon presented a copy to Sir Edward Coke, on which there is still to be seen, in the hand-writing of that eminent lawyer, the following reproof of the author for going out of his profession, with an allusion to his character as a prerogative lawyer, and his corrupt administration of the Court of Chancery.

Edw. Coke, ex dono authoris

Auctori consilium

Instaurare paras veterum documenta sopharum

Instaura leges justiamque prius.—Oct. 1620.

Under a device, on the title-page, of a ship passing through the pillars of Hercules, Coke wrote in a clumsy attempt at wit :—

“It deserveth not to be read in schools,

“But to be freighted in the ship of fools.”

Some who respected Bacon's character and office, remonstrated with the Lord Chancellor. Sir Thomas Bodley wrote to him, that it “consisted of averment without other force of argument,” and he was represented by more than one man of distinction in those times as “no great philosopher—a man rather of show than of depth, who wrote philosophy like a Lord Chancellor.”

He was understood by some. Ben. Johnson, after the author's death, described the book in terms of the highest praise. “Though by the most superficial of men, who cannot get beyond the title of *nominals*, it is not penetrated nor understood, it really openeth all defects of learning whatsoever. My conceit of his person was never increased towards him by his place or honours. But I have and do reverence him, for the greatness that was only proper in himself, and in that he seemed to me ever by his work, one of the greatest men and most worthy of admiration, that had been for many years.” Though the King had expressed what doubtless he felt—“the difficulty of understanding the work”—he wrote to Bacon stating what it is likely was his sincere opinion, that he agreed

with him in many of his remarks, and assured him that he could not have "made choice of a subject more befitting his place and his universal and methodical knowledge."

Sir Henry Wotton, on receiving three copies, was highly complimentary. "Your Lordship hath done a great and everliving benefit to all the children of nature, and to nature herself in her uttermost extent of latitude, who never before had so noble nor so true an interpreter." On the Continent the work was more highly honoured than at home, being esteemed by many of the most competent judges, as one of the most important accessions ever made to philosophy.

After this the glory of Bacon set for ever. His name becomes tarnished with infamy. The ordinary apologies for his conduct, the rapacity of his servants, and his connection with Buckingham, fail entirely in washing out the foul blot fixed upon him by the facts of his conduct. He was the victim of improvidence, a vice which gave him a perpetual craving for money to supply the wants which it created. A desire of this kind, kept alive by the constant necessities, which it caused to press upon him, undermined those honourable and honest principles in regard to pecuniary matters, without which no man was ever either upright or respectable. Various writers have glozed over the disgraceful truths, which belong to this period of an extraordinary life, and have thus deprived the world of the warning and instruction which they afford. The facts are almost too painful for minute statement; they increased in number and disgracefulness as the inquiry proceeded, and the two complaints and accusations which first occupied attention multiplied to upwards of twenty-four before the end of the proceedings. Shortly after his elevation to the woolsack, one Wrenham, against whom he had decided a case in Chancery, complained to the King, and though, when inquired into, the circumstances turned out in Bacon's favour, the industry and pertinacity of this individual excited suspicions in several quarters of the integrity of the Chancellor. The House of Commons appointed a committee to inquire into the proceedings of the courts of law. On the 15th March, 1620, Sir Robert Phillips reported in a manner full of delicacy and

respect to the high station and illustrious talents of Bacon, that two charges of corruption had been brought against the Lord Chancellor. The cases were sifted immediately. Eager to ascertain the exact particulars, to elicit the just amount and kind of blame attached to a personage so elevated, the committee sat every day on the case, and made daily reports to the House on the evidence brought before them. In the discussions on these facts, though there were not wanting apologists and defenders of this corrupt judge, the moral indignation of many of the members was expressed in terms of the strongest reprobation. The first case was of a poor gentleman, of the name of Aubrey, who, finding his suit in Chancery going on with a ruinous slowness, was advised to quicken it by a gift to the Lord Chancellor. In his anxiety and distress, he borrowed a hundred pounds from a usurer; Lord Bacon received the money; Sir George Hastings and Mr. Jenkins took the bribe in to the Lord Chancellor at his lodgings in Gray's Inn, and, on coming out again, assured the poor and anxious suitor in his Lordship's name of thankfulness and success. The case was decided against him. When the Chancellor heard of the complaints of his victim, he sent for his friend, Sir George Hastings, and entreated him, with many professions of affection and esteem, to stay the clamour of the poor man whom he had cheated. The evidence in the next case varied in form and deepened the colours of the Lord Chancellor's guilt. Mr. Egerton had several suits pending in Chancery against Sir Rowland Egerton, and, under the name of an expression of gratitude for past services, he presented the Chancellor with £300. The case went in his favour, until the opposite and losing party expressed his gratitude also to the judge in the shape of £400, when the superiority of four over three turned the scales of equity against him. On one of these occasions, when the decision was drawn out though not delivered, the influence of a well-bestowed bribe induced the Chancellor to reverse his decree. The Lady Wharton, hearing that her suit was likely to go against her, was too clever and high-spirited a woman to be defeated without a struggle. She wrought a purse with her own hands, and having filled it with £100, waited upon Bacon

at his apartments, and begged his acceptance of a purse of her own making. The Chancellor was, of course, too gallant a gentleman "to refuse anything from the hands of so fair a lady." She gained her cause.

The discussion in the Commons issued in referring the whole of the case to the Peers, the only authority competent to subject him to trial. The King told a deputation of the Commons to proceed fearlessly whatever might be the consequences, and whoever might be implicated; but he felt exceedingly for the Chancellor, received him with undiminished affection, and caused a short recess of Parliament to give him time for his defence. The spirit of Bacon was crushed within him. His servants were undoubtedly the agents who sought out the victims of his corruption; and it is equally undoubted that their master was himself ruined by the rapacity and extravagance in which he permitted them to indulge. During the investigation of the charges, Bacon one day entered his house, when his costly menials rose up and saluted him, he said bitterly, "Sit down, my masters, your rise has been my fall." He was great even in such circumstances, and the native dignity of his mind shone out even through the disgrace in which he had clothed himself. There is something inexpressibly touching in the contrition which he expressed in the general confession which he first sent to the Lords appointed to try him. This, however, did not satisfy the indignation of the judges; they demanded a particular confession of each charge by itself—a specification of the minute details of his meanness and guilt. This Lord Bacon sent, and when a deputation of the Lords waited upon him to inquire if this paper was his own voluntary act, he replied, "It is my act, my hand, my heart. O, my Lords, spare a broken reed." He was stripped of his offices, disqualified for public life, banished beyond the precincts of the Court, subjected to a fine of £40,000, and imprisonment in the Tower during the King's pleasure.

In 1621 Sir Francis Bacon, Earl Verulam and Viscount St. Albans, the Lord Chancellor, Sir Edward Coke (the late Chief Justice), and his son, Clement Coke, were committed to the Tower. Camden says:—"These bright luminaries of the age were sent thither for a short confinement—the first

on his well-known fall from greatness ; the second for the memorable stand which he made in defence of the rights and privileges of the House of Commons against the arbitrary exercise of the King's prerogative ; and the third for insolently affronting Morison."

Bacon was confined for a short time in the Tower, and then discharged. In the course of a few months he obtained a licence to come for a time within the verge of the Court. And though this sentence was afterwards commuted by the King, his ruined fortunes were never repaired, and we have seldom felt the degradation into which Bacon had sunk himself so painfully as when reading the words of his pardon "for all the frauds, deceits, impostures, bribes, corruptions, and malpractices of which he had been found guilty." He was summoned to attend Parliament before he died ; but the remainder of his days were spent chiefly in scientific pursuits, and the society of the friends whom adversity had left him. His name being high abroad, when the Marquis d'Effrat brought into England the Princess Henrietta Maria, the wife of Charles I., he paid a visit to Bacon, and was received by his Lordship who was lying sick in bed with the curtains drawn.

"You resemble the angels," said the Marquis to him, "we hear those beings continually talked of, we believe them superior to mankind, and we never have the consolation to see them."

His Lordship replied, "That if the charity of others compared him to an angel, his own infirmities told him he was a man."

Bacon's work on Natural History, his Life of Henry VII. and some other books, were published after his disgrace. Scientific pursuits were his consolation, and at last caused his death. The father of experimental philosophy was the martyr of an experiment. The retort which he was using burst, and parts of it struck his head and stomach. Fever and defluxion were the consequence. We have no particular account of his death. His last letter was written to the Earl of Arundel, in whose house at Highgate he expired on the 9th of April, 1626, in his sixty-sixth year. In this letter he calls himself the "martyr of science," and compares himself to Pliny the elder, whose death was caused by his over-zealous observation of Vesuvius. In his will he says, "My name and memory I

leave to foreign nations, and to my own countrymen, after some time be passed over." He left no children.

The accomplishments of Lord Bacon were unrivalled in his day, and his character displayed the phenomenon of great originality combined with a most extensive range of acquirements. He was a poet and an orator, a lawyer and a statesman. In the philosophy of experiment and of observation, he was pre-eminent, the metaphysical and the physical, were both congenial to his genius; and although the taint of his immorality has induced many, to doubt the extent, and to depreciate the excellence, of his knowledge and ability in every department, (except his method of studying nature), an impartial and searching examination will fill the reader with admiration, as successively, his steps are traced, in almost every branch of intellectual exertion.

This subject, too long spun out, must be closed, and shall be, with the words of "O, Rare Ben Jonson."

"There happened in my time (1574—1637), one noble speaker, who was full of gravity in his speaking. His language, when he could spare or pass by a jest, nobly censorious. No man ever spake more neatly, more prisly, more weightily, or suffered less emptiness, less idleness, in what he uttered; he commanded, when he spoke; and his judges were pleased and angry, at his devotion."

"It has been said that Cicero was the only Wit of, and in, Old Rome."

"Ingenium par imperio."

"England has produced many, during the age in which Bacon lived, (1561 to 1626,) namely:—Sir Thomas More,¹ Sir Thomas Wyat the Elder,² Henry, Earl of Surrey,³ Sir

¹ Born in Milk Street, Cheapside, 1480; beheaded on Tower Hill, July 6th, 1535, buried in the Tower Chapel.

² Born in Allington Castle, Maidstone, Kent, 1503, and died there, 1542.

³ Born 151 $\frac{1}{2}$, beheaded 21st January, 1547, buried in the north aisle of Framlingham Church, Suffolk.

Thomas¹ Chaloner, Sir Thomas Smith,² Bishop Gardiner,³ all for their time were admirable, and more so, because they began eloquence with us. Sir Nicholas Bacon,⁴ in Sir Philip Sidney,⁵ the "Judicious" Richard Hooker⁶ (in different matter, grave), great masters of wit and language; Sir Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex,⁷ noble and high, Sir Walter Raleigh,⁸ for judgment and style. Sir Henry Savill,⁹ grave and truly lettered; Sir Edwin Sandys,¹⁰ excellent in both; Lord Egerton,¹¹ the Chancellor, a grave and gay orator; but his learned and able, but unfortunate successor, is He who hath filled up all numbers and performed that, in our own tongue, which may be compared, or preferred, to insolent Greece or haughty Rome. In short, within His view and about his time, all the Wits were born, that could honour a language or help study. Now, "continues Jonson," things daily fall, wits grow downwards, eloquence grows backwards, so that Bacon may be named and stand as the mark and *ἀκμὴ* of our language."

¹ Born in London, 1515, died, October 7th, 1565, buried in Old St. Paul's Cathedral.

² Born at Saffron Walden, Herts, 28th March, 151 $\frac{1}{2}$, died 12th August, 1577, at Mount Hall, Essex, aged 63.

³ Illegitimate son of Dr. Woodville, Bishop of Salisbury, born at Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, usually called Dr. Stephens, died in London, November 12th, 1555, and buried with great pomp.

⁴ Born 1510, at Chislehurst, in Kent, died February 20th, 1579, at York House, in the Strand; buried in St. Paul's Cathedral.

⁵ Born at Penshurst, in Kent, November, 29th, 1554, mortally wounded in the battle of Zutphen, in Holland, died at Arnheim, October 7th, 1586.

⁶ Born at Heavitree, near Exeter, 155 $\frac{1}{4}$, died at Bishopsbourne, near Canterbury, Nov. 2nd, 1600.

⁷ Born in Essex House in the Strand, London, 1592, died 1646, buried in Westminster Abbey.

⁸ Born at Budleigh, Devonshire, 1552, sailed round the then known world; beheaded October 29th, 1618, in New Palace Yard, Westminster.

⁹ Born at Over Bradley, Halifax, Yorkshire, November 30th, 1549. Died at Eton College, February 19th, 1622; buried in the Chapel.

¹⁰ Archbishop of York, 1577, father of the renowned traveller and writer, George Sandys.

¹¹ His heir in the sixth descent was father of British Inland Navigation.

The greater part of Bacon's works were written in English, some in Latin, and others were translated into the latter language, thus his *Felicities of Queen Elizabeth's Reign*, was first written in English, then revised, corrected, and turned into Latin; *The Advancement of Learning*, was partly written in English, partly in Latin, and he afterwards caused the first part in English to be turned into Latin by a gentleman named Herbert, who was assisted in his task by some others. *Cogitata et Visa*, written in Latin; *Of the Wisdom of the Ancients*, was written in Latin; *The Novum Organum* was written and published in Latin. Several translations of his works have appeared, the best of all by the late Basil Montague, completed nearly sixty years ago, 1831.

WHAT IS WIT?

"A faculty of the mind and the products of the same; it denotes not a distinct power, but certain specific modes of using or operating upon the notions or images with which the mind happens to be furnished. It ranges itself under the more comprehensive faculty of imagination with which, by early writers, it was generally used as synonymous; they sometimes used it in a sense still more general, as denoting the intellectual faculty as distinguished from the will."

The precise boundaries of the term are still too unsettled to admit of any strict definition. Dr. Noah Webster in his Dictionary says, "the intellect," the understanding or mental powers. Dryden says:—

"For wit and power their best endeavours lend,

"T' outshine each other."

"Wit is the association of ideas, in a manner natural, but unusual, and striking, so as to produce surprise, joined with pleasure."

"What oft was thought, but ne'er so well expressed."

Pope.

"In joining things by distant and fanciful relations, which surprise because they are unexpected."—*Kames*.

"A propriety of thoughts and words elegantly adapted to the subject."—*Dryden*.

"He wants not wit the danger to decline."—*Dryden*.

"A power of invention, contrivance, ingenuity."—*Hooker*.

"It may be described generally as the display of remote resemblances, between dissimilar objects, as have no resemblance. This kind of wit is exhibited in great perfection, in two poems of a very opposite class, the *Hudibras* of Butler, and the *Night Thoughts*, of Young; ludicrously by Butler, to display the absurdities of hypocritical pretence: seriously by Young, to add force and point to his reasonings in favour of religious belief and conduct. When the different meanings of the same word are brought into equivocal contact, the operation is called 'punning.'"—*Encyclopædia*.

A pun has been defined by Addison, in the *Spectator*, No. 61, as a conceit arising from the use of two words that agree in the sound but differ in the sense; sometimes the pun is effected by the employment of one word only. Thus some person gave Mr. Sheridan a subject: "The King," to which the Wit replied, "I cannot make a pun upon one word, because the King is no subject."

Burke also, in his speech in the House of Commons, said: "What is majesty if you deprive it of its externals, simply 'jest.'"

Steele also says in the *Spectator*, No. 454, "I was looking down from one of the windows of the Royal Exchange into the area below, where all voices lost their distinction and rose up in a confused humming, when I said to myself, 'with a kind of pun in thought,' What nonsense is all the hurry of this world to those who are above it."

Thus in the *Quarterly Review* Tom Hood wrote a punning poem in which he says:—

"A peer appears on a sea pier,

"But blind he cannot see."

The sketch given by Addison traces the existence of punning from the time of Aristotle downwards. The figures of speech known among the Greeks by the names of the paragramma, παραγραμμα, and the paronomasia, παρωνομασία, and the antanaclasis, αντανакλασις, and the plóke, πλοκή, were often that which we should now call puns. Addison observes that Aristotle in the eleventh chapter of his *Rhetoric*, describes different kinds of puns or paragrams among the beauties of good writing, and produces instances of them out of some of the greatest authors in the Greek tongue.

Wit may be represented by the description which Aristinetus makes of a fine woman: "when she is *dressed* she is beautiful; when she is *undressed* she is beautiful." Mercerus translates it thus, more emphatically: "Induitur formosa est exuitur, ipsa forma est."

The philosophy of the pun, and its relation to alliteration, the effect of which is derived partly from the sound might afford matter for speculation.—*Penny Cyclopædia*.

THE FRENCH REPUBLICAN ERA.

(Page 70, ante.)

The unwise attempt made by the French during the First Revolution to alter names and dispositions of the years and months, may now be consigned to oblivion, if it were not that many excellent works bear the revolutionary dates upon the title pages, and political occurrences are frequently referred to them during the short period of their florescence.

The year 1 was made to begin on the 22nd September, 1792, each period of four years, or Franciad, had a bissextile at its end. The three omitted leap years of the Gregorian correction, were found by the same rule as before the alteration relatively to the years ending with two 00; the 4000 year was not to be a leap year. The year consisted of 12 months of 30 days each, with 5 sacred days at the end dedicated to Virtue, Genius, Labour, Opinion, and Reward; the bi-sextile day being appropriated every fourth year to the renewal of the "Oath of Liberty." Each month had three decades.

The months were as follows :—

	Beginning		Beginning
Vendimiaire	September 22	Germinal - -	March 21
Brumaire -	October 22	Floréal - - -	April 20
Frimaire -	November 21	Prairial - - -	May 20
Nivose - -	December 21	Messidor - - -	June 19
Pluviose - -	January 20	Thermidor - -	July 19
Ventose - -	February 19	Fructidor - -	August 18

Brady in his *Clavis Calendarie* translated these fancy months in ridicule, and as the year 1 began on the 9th month, so he begins with the autumn quarter.

Autumn—wheezy, sneezy, freezy.

Winter—slippy, drippy, nippy.

Spring—showery, flowery, bowery.

Summer—hoppy, croppy, poppy.

The years were as follows:—

An. 1.-	-	Sept. 22 1792	An. VIII. -	Sept. 22, 1799
II.-	-	„ „ 1793	IX. -	„ „ 1800
III.-	-	„ „ 1794	X. -	„ „ 1801
IV.-	-	„ „ 1795	XI. -	„ „ 1802
V.-	-	„ „ 1796	XII. -	„ „ 1803
VI.-	-	„ „ 1797	XIII. -	„ „ 1804
VII.-	-	„ „ 1798	XIV. -	„ „ 1805

But the year XIV. did not live half its days, for on January 1st, 1806 the Gregorian calendar was resumed by the Republic, which had legislated for the 4000th year of its existence.

The Gregorian reformation was decided upon by Pope Gregory XIII.,* with the authority of the Council of Trent, and carried into effect in 1582.

* ¹⁵⁷²
to
¹⁵⁸⁵ } Gregory XIII. Ugo Buoncompagni, of Bologna, the reformer of the Julian Kalendar, since called the New Style, adapted by all nations, other than Russia and Greece.

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